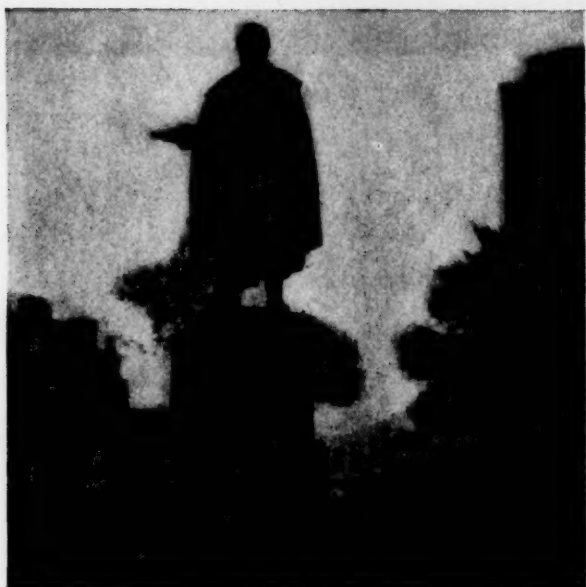


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Floyd C. Shoemaker, Editor

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Contents

	Page
THE MISSOURI SHORT STORY AS IT HAS GROWN OUT OF THE TALL	
TALE OF THE FRONTIER. By <i>Minnie M. Brashear</i>	199
Prior to the Civil War.....	199
From the Civil War to 1900.....	206
The Twentieth Century.....	212
RAILROADS IN MISSOURI POLITICS, 1875-1887. By <i>Homer Clevenger</i>..	
CIVIL WAR EXPERIENCES. By <i>Benjamin F. Sweet</i>. Edited by	
<i>Vivian Kirkpatrick McLarty</i>	237
Early Days of the War in Missouri.....	238
The Real Fighting Begins.....	243
THE MISSOURI READER: LEAD MINING IN PIONEER MISSOURI.	
Edited by <i>Ada Paris Klein</i>	251
The Period prior to 1800.....	251
The Austin Period, 1800-1820.....	257
Early Method of Mining Lead.....	259
Profits from Lead Mining.....	263
Mining Expansion.....	266
Influence of Early Lead Mining in Missouri.....	268
HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS.....	
Members Active in Increasing Society's Membership.....	271
New Members of the Society.....	275
Weekly Feature Articles of the Society.....	281
Third Volume of Ozark Folksongs.....	282
Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of	
Missouri.....	283
Efforts to Move Moses Austin's Body to Texas.....	284
Missourians Take Active Part in Inauguration Week Festivities.....	288
The State Presents a Silver Service to the <i>USS Missouri</i>	290
Missourians Who Have Lead the Army.....	290
Cahokia Will Celebrate Its 250th Anniversary.....	291
Activities of County Historical Societies.....	292
Anniversaries.....	293
Monuments and Memorials.....	294
Notes.....	296
Historical Publications.....	302
Obituaries.....	307
MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS.....	
It's a Long Way to Go.....	310
Anti-Climatic, but Profitable.....	310

Contents

	<i>Page</i>
We Feel the Same about Singing Commercials	311
All for a Penny	311
No Bobby Sox? No Baggy Sweaters?	311
Not a Dry Eye in the House	311
The College Crowd, No Doubt	311
Are Inaugurations for the Officers or Their Wives?	312
This Is Where We Came In	313
Mr. Pasteur—Take Note	313
Time Marches On	313
A Rational Good Time Was Had by All	313
A Happy "First"	314
Where Missouri Governors Come From	314
Missouri Historical Data in Magazines	316

Illustrations

	<i>Page</i>
STATUTE OF MOSES AUSTIN IN SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS. Cover design reproduced from a photograph belonging to Mrs. Adella Breckenridge Moore, of Farmington, Missouri. See "Efforts to Move Moses Austin's Body to Texas"	284
A VIEW OF "LAMOTTE VILLAGE 22 MARS 1826." Sketched by Charles Alexander Lesueur during a trip to Missouri in 1826. This sketch and the one below were photographed in 1938 by Charles E. Peterson, regional architect with the National Park Service and these reproductions are from his negatives. See "The Missouri Reader: Lead Mining in Pioneer Missouri"	251
"S. W. SHOOT TOUR D'HERCULANEUM AU DEPORT." Sketched by Charles Alexander Lesueur in 1826. See "The Missouri Reader: Lead Mining in Pioneer Missouri"	251

THE MISSOURI SHORT STORY AS IT HAS GROWN OUT OF THE TALL TALE OF THE FRONTIER

BY MINNIE M. BRASHEAR*

There is one chapter in the history of English fiction for which the state of Missouri has produced more convincing documents than any other state in the Union—the chapter which accounts for the contribution of the frontier humorous story and tall tale to the development of the American short story. Slight as the chapter may appear in relation to the whole history, it is by no means negligible.

PRIOR TO THE CIVIL WAR

After the vogue among readers of annuals and early American magazines of the stories of Irving (1783-1859), Poe (1809-1849), and Hawthorne (1804-1864), together with Poe's defense of the brief tale as a high form of art, in *Graham's Magazine* (1842), the short story was in danger of settling into a formula which would have warped its further development. Then came new blood out of the South and West. Gradually writers less committed to traditional literary standards, discovering the popular appeal of the frontier stories and anecdotes which found their way into newspapers, turned to them not only for themes but also for the realistic local details which interested foreigners as authentic portrayals of the less conventional side of American life. Other states of the Old Southwest made the same contribution, some more extensive, but in none is the fact of the indebtedness more palpably obvious than in Missouri.

In the thirties and forties of the nineteenth century a brilliant group of young men became associated in St. Louis,

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who, though not professional writers, found in the folk stories floating about such a wealth of material awaiting a recorder that they became writers, partly to amuse their friends, partly to meet a demand for first-hand pictures of Western life. Alphonso Wetmore and Charles Keemle were associated in early publishing enterprises in St. Louis, and four of these men, Joseph M. and Matthew C. Field, Noah M. Ludlow, and John S. Robb, were "pioneers of the Drama of the West."¹

The stories in which these men delighted were a sort of natural expression of the frontier.² They were yarns told to while away weary hours on the slow journeys of lawyers and judges on the circuit and of circuit-riding preachers, and riverboat travelers, by army officers and Indian fighters around the camp fire, by hunters and trappers returned from the far West. Along with stories of adventures in the West were descriptions of the odd characters to be found on the borders of civilization, of practical jokes on the ignorant countryman and the dapper city man.³

Alphonso Wetmore (1793-1849)⁴ in the St. Louis group was a Connecticut man who had come West as a young paymaster and was sent up the Missouri River with the Sixth Infantry in 1819. He had brought his family with him to Old Franklin, and, living in central Missouri for fourteen years, had come to know from firsthand experience of the frontier with all its comedy and tragedy, of the life of the followers of Daniel Boone into the wilderness, their struggles with Indians and wild beasts, and of the adventures of traders in far away Santa Fe. It was his interest in this material

¹Franklin Julius Meine, *Tall Tales of the Southwest* (New York, Knopf, 1930), Introduction xv-xxii.

²Many of these stories first reached print in the New York *Spirit of the Times*, "founded and edited by William T. Porter, 1831-1856. As its subtitle indicated, it was a weekly *Chronicle of the Turf, Agriculture, Field Sports, Literature and the Stage*. Started originally as a sporting journal, it had become by 1845 the outstanding humorous weekly as well, and had a national circulation." See Meine, *op. cit.*, Introduction p. xxvii.

³Carle Brooks Spotts, "The Development of Fiction on the Missouri Frontier, 1830-1860," *Missouri Historical Review* XXVIII (April, 1934), 195-206; (July, 1934), 275-287; XXIX (October, 1934), 17-27; (January, 1935), 100-109; (April, 1935), 186-195; (July, 1935), 279-295.

⁴Kate L. Gregg, "Major Alphonso Wetmore," *Missouri Historical Review* XXXV (April, 1941), 385-394.

that made a writer of him. In Old Franklin he contributed stories of Hugh Glass and Mike Shuck to the *Missouri Intelligencer*⁵ and he is sometimes known as the first historian of the Santa Fe trail.⁶ Moving to St. Louis in 1833, he became associated with M. C. Field in publishing the *Saturday News*. His most notable contribution to Missouriana was *The Gazetteer of the State of Missouri* (1837) published by Charles Keemle. Into this *Gazetteer* he inserted stories of bear hunts and Indian attacks, the account of a "varmint theatre" (frontier forerunner of Barnum and Bailey) coming to a Missouri outpost—all with the evident purpose of writing down true stories of the frontier. In his "Sketch of Mountain Life," Gall Buster, a beaver trapper, and his companion Jonas Cutting, a singing Yankee, who carries along a cook book and a peddler's pack, tell of their adventures, each in his own peculiar manner.⁷

One of the best known, "The Dead Husband," is the story of Joseph Joplin who could not resist the temptation to go to "gatherings," especially the races. His quarrels when liquored up were always so disastrous to the other fellow that Joplin had to keep his family moving, to escape the law. In a refuge in the Ozarks he contracted the "dumb ague" and died. In the story of the wife's struggles to get him buried in spite of the sufferings of her children from hunger and of the attacks of beasts and birds, Wetmore reaches his best narrative level.⁸ While these cannot be classed as humorous stories, they are forerunners of the tall tales in several respects. (1) They are told in an easy, light tone different from that of most Missouri writers of the period. (2) Wetmore's "Jonas Cutting" and "Gall Buster" anticipate the flood of "characters" typical of later frontier stories. (3) These characters are represented as the narrators of stories in the vernacular.

⁵*Missouri Intelligencer*, February 11, 1823. This paper was started in 1819 by Nathaniel Patten and Benjamin Holliday.

⁶Gregg, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-391.

⁷Wetmore, *The Gazetteer of the State of Missouri*, pp. 307-334.

⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 281-293.

Joseph M. Field (1810-1856), born in England, actor-manager, playwright and editor,⁹ had had a career on the stage in Boston, New York, and the southwestern circuit—Cincinnati, Mobile, New Orleans—before coming to St. Louis.¹⁰ Under the signature "Straws," he had contributed humorous poems (1839-1840) on political and theatrical affairs to the *Picayune* and been sent to Europe by that paper as a correspondent. It was five years later that he was associated in the founding of the St. Louis *Reveille* (1844-1850) with M. C. Field and Charles Keemle. Though a prolific writer of plays he published none,¹¹ but his stories of Mike Fink, a favorite character with most of these raconteurs, were published in eastern papers, and in 1847 he published *The Drama in Pokerville: the Bench and Bar of Jurytown, and Other Stories*,¹² a collection of frontier tales. "The Elk Runners," the story of a halfbreed and a Kentuckian who ran down sixteen elk, and who "without exaggeration must have run seventy-five miles between the hours of 8 A. M. and 7 P. M.," shows considerable narrative skill.¹³ In "Establishing the Science" a "disciple of Mesmer," challenged to prove that he could "come the re-mee-jil over rheumatiz" when he was presented with a test case, did not hesitate. "Mad as thunder; . . . first at being thought a humbug, and next, that my individooal share of the American eagle should be *compelled* into a measure" he "run it right out of him." When the patient tried to escape, he discovered him to be "a feller they were offerin' a reward for in Buffalo," but "the science" had been established.¹⁴

⁹Walter Blair, *Native American Humor (1800-1900)* (New York, American Book Co., [1937]), p. 63.

¹⁰William Glasgow Bruce Carson, *The Theatre on the Frontier; the Early Days of the St. Louis Stage* (Chicago, University of Chicago, [1932]), p. 147. He was clever in "eccentric comedy." Memphis, Tennessee, was the capital of the Old Southwest.

¹¹*Dictionary of American Biography*, VI (New York, Scribner's, 1943), 366; Spotts, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-188.

¹²Field dedicates *The Drama in Pokerville* (Philadelphia, Peterson, [1847?]) to his Philadelphia publishers "whose enterprise and liberality have opened out a native literary path, which albeit not the most elevated, nevertheless hath its pleasant ways. . . ." "The Death of Mike Fink" is reprinted in the collection, pp. 177-184.

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 108-112.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 129-134. O'Henry may have learned of the effectiveness of the surprise at the end from such western stories as this.

Field's brother, Matthew C. Field,¹⁶ actor and poet,¹⁶ though not so prominent, was much loved in the Southwest. He liked to record Old Sol Smith's stories: "Orally, Old Sol tells the story with a droll and irresistible effect, much of which may be lost in our attempt at writing it."¹⁷ He calls Smith "a born wag." "We verily believe that when he is going to his grave he will play some droll trick upon the pallbearers," he says after a tale about how the actor had betrayed an irascible patron into taking the check at the door.¹⁸

Charles Keemle (1800-1865)¹⁹ contributed to this literature as a publisher rather than as a writer. Coming to St. Louis in 1817, he became editor of *The Emigrant*. As clerk for the American Fur Company in 1823, he went on a trading trip with the Kansas Indians, and as agent and clerk he accompanied an ill-fated party to the Rocky Mountains. His stories of experiences on these expeditions were used by Alphonso Wetmore. As editor and politician he was connected in one way or another with many newspapers in St. Louis and St. Charles.

Two men, famous chiefly in the start of the St. Louis theatre, published autobiographical narratives interspersed with amusing stories not only of actor folk, but also of politicians and other frontier characters. Noah Miller Ludlow (1795-1886), born in New York, came to Kentucky as an actor in 1815, and to St. Louis in 1819. He took a company on the southwestern circuit after an appearance in New York and in 1835 formed a partnership with Sol Smith which lasted for eighteen years. In 1827 they built the first theatre in St. Louis. From 1853 to 1886 he lived in retirement in St. Louis, and published *Dramatic Life As I Found It*, in 1880.²⁰

¹⁶M. C. Field died in December, 1844. See Spotts, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 103n. As he was under twenty when he came to St. Louis he must have been born around the turn of the century.

¹⁶Rufus W. Griswold, *Poets and Poetry of America* (New York, Miller, 1877), p. 494.

¹⁷Solomon Franklin Smith, *The Theatrical Apprenticeship and Anecdotal Recollections of Sol Smith, Comedian, Attorney at Law, etc. etc.* (Philadelphia, Carey, 1846), p. 203. Three sketches of M. C. Field are reprinted here.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 203-204.

¹⁹J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Saint Louis City and County* (Philadelphia, Everts, 1883), I, 919-920.

²⁰(St. Louis, Jones, 1880).

His notes about St. Louis as he first knew it and about strange characters there are a contribution to this humor.

Solomon Franklin Smith (1801-1869), a much loved actor-manager, lawyer, and preacher, had been, as a youth, a journalist and actor in New York. In 1823 he became manager of a theatrical troupe playing in Mississippi River towns from New Orleans to St. Louis. By 1835, when he and Noah M. Ludlow became partners in what came to be one of the most important theatrical companies in the country, he was looked upon as one of the best actors in the United States, playing in New York and Philadelphia as well as on the southwestern circuit. In 1851 he gave up the stage and settled in St. Louis as a lawyer.²¹

Many writers of the time told stories about Old Sol. When he himself wrote about people who had amused him, it was one eccentric writing of another. In "A Bully Boat and a Brag Captain" he told of the captain of the *Caravan*, absorbed in the game of brag, though he remonstrated at every wood-yard all night with "yellow-faced wood-merchants" because of their repeated overcharge,—only to discover when the morning sun dispelled the fog that he had been "wooding all night at the same woodyard."²²

The one of these early St. Louisans who most nearly belonged in the class of professional writers was John S. Robb.²³ The son of a Philadelphia printer, he had had experience as a journeyman printer on the New Orleans *Picayune* and other papers before coming to St. Louis. Partly from autobiographical material, he had published a novelette, *The Western Wanderings of a Typo*. He published tall tales that he had originally contributed to the New York *Spirit of the Times*, New Orleans *Picayune*, and the St. Louis *Reveille* in a volume entitled *Streaks of Squatter Life and Far Western*

²¹Dictionary of American Biography, XVII, 346-347.

²²Meine, *op. cit.*, pp. 357-363. See also "Breaking a Bank," pp. 437-443.

²³Jack Conroy, *Midland Humor* (New York, Wyn, 1947), p. 32 says: "John S. Robb was one of the regular contributors to Charles Keesle's *Weekly Reveille* (1844-1850), a valuable repository for such Midwestern literature as then existed. Robb, a wandering printer, had traveled in the West and Southwest before he wrote *Streaks of Squatter Life and Far Western Scenes* (1846), humorous sketches, most of which had appeared in the *Weekly Reveille* under his pen name of *Solitaire*. . . . The circumstances and time of Robb's birth and death . . . remain shrouded in mystery."

Scenes. One of his most popular stories, "Swallowing an Oyster Alive," is reprinted in most collections of early humor. A "hero from the Sucker State," who has never seen an "ister" before, "stalks" into a St. Louis oyster house and after managing to swallow a "bivalve" alive is warned by a wag looking on that it will eat his "innards" out. Terrified, he gets the better of it with a bottle of pepper sauce.²⁴ Another of his best known stories, "The Standing Candidate," is a countryman's apologia for being a bachelor. Old Sugar, "an odd-looking old man" who appeared at a political barbecue, declared that when he saw "Jake Simons settin' close bang up agin Sofy," whom he was courting, "I war so enormous mad that the new silk handkercher round my neck lost its color."²⁵

These men, writers by avocation, developed a technique. They told their stories (1) in the picturesque dialect appropriate to the characters they portrayed—usually (2) in a story-within-a-story framework. The reporter, more often than not a professional man—journalist, lawyer, doctor, actor—(3) introduced an amusing character, who yarned along, apparently unaware that there was anything amusing in the situation. The more nearly cultured man on the frontier amused himself by describing the eccentricity he discovered in the less cultured and ruffian men around him—first in the oral tale and a little later in newspapers (much expurgated, we may be sure) for the amusement of Eastern and local readers.²⁶ However crude most of the stories were, however much they fell back upon anecdote and the practical joke and exaggeration for their effect, they have value as authentic accounts of society on the borders of civilization in the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century.

But they came nearly dying like Tinker Bell for lack of anyone to believe in them. When the Civil War turned men's

²⁴Meine, *op. cit.*, pp. 407-411.

²⁵John S. Robb, *Streaks of Squatter Life and Far Western Scenes* (Philadelphia, Peterson, 1858), pp. 91-100.

²⁶Field, *op. cit.*, Preface, pp. 5-6 says ". . . certain scatterlings on the face of the land have been, for some time back, scribbling queer things for the amusement of the queer people, and volume after volume, these things have been, queerly, condensing into book shape . . . and actually getting responsible persons to stand up and answer for their adoption into the more regularly begat and better conditioned family of literature."

minds to sterner subjects, the tall tales, having been dismissed by critics as journalistic and sub-literary, were lost, for the most part, in the files of early newspapers and magazines. The annuals of the period were too respectable to give them space. Watching the horizon for "the great American novel," the critics had failed to discover the really original contribution of the frontier tales. All but Bret Harte, who in 1899, seeing the nineteenth century story in perspective, called the early humorous story "the parent of the American short-story"²⁷—apparently regarding Irving, Poe, and Hawthorne as derivative—in the British tradition. As early as 1845 Rufus W. Griswold saw the importance of the productions of the South and West which gave abundant "promise for the future."²⁸ But many of those who enjoyed the frontier stories most were as apologetic for their taste as Sir Philip Sidney in Shakespeare's England was for enjoying the old ballads.

FROM THE CIVIL WAR TO 1900

After the Civil War it was a Missourian who proved more convincingly than anyone else, to Europe as well as to the United States, what this sub-literary humorous material could contribute to the development of the short story—in techniques as well as subject matter. In "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County,"²⁹ written

²⁷"The Rise of the American Short-Story." *The Cornhill Magazine*, 80 (July, 1899), 1-8. The American story, he said, "was delightfully extravagant—or a miracle of understatement. It voiced not only the dialect but the habits of thought of a people, or a locality. It gave new interest to slang It admitted no fine writing of any kind. . . . It was burdened by no conscientiousness; it was irreverent. . . . —but it was original!" Quoted by Fred Lewis Pattee, editor, *Century Readings in the American Short-Story* (New York, Century, 1927), p. 180. Mr. Pattee was the first to credit Bret Harte's theory. Cf. Pattee, *The Development of the American Short-Story* (New York, Harper, 1923), pp. 297-298 and *The History of American Literature Since 1870* (New York, Century, 1916), pp. 45-62.

²⁸*Introduction to Prose Writers of America* (1845), p. 546.

²⁹Published first in *The New York Saturday Press*, November 18, 1865, and widely copied and translated abroad. "With its ['The Jumping Frog'] publication the 'tall tale' reached a kind of climax, having climbed from anecdotal folk humor to universality." Meine, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xxxi. Cf. also Introduction, pp. xxx-xxxi. ". . . a humor instinct with the life of the frontier, wild and robust and male . . . gave to young Sam Clemens the interesting example of material immediately at hand translated into literature, or perhaps into writing on the threshold of literature."

in California the year the Civil War was over, one odd character yarned it off in the vernacular about the trick played by another odd character in a frog race. Mark Twain (1835-1910) had grown up where frontier wit and buffoonery were depended upon to bring social recognition. When he was seventeen years old he had contributed "The Dandy Frightening a Squatter" to the Boston *Carpet Bag*.³⁰

The influence of the humorous frontier story is noticeable in much of Mark Twain's shorter and longer fiction. His autobiographical narratives as well as his best-known stories partake of the manner and matter of the tall tale. The story of Tom Blankenship's discomfiture at falling into the pans of taffy which Pamela's girl friends had put out to cool has the same slap stick quality as John S. Robb's "Nettle Bottom Ball; or, Betsy Jones' Tumble in the Mush Pan."³¹

In "The Private History of a Campaign that Failed,"³² Mark Twain, an odd character, tells of his Civil War experience as if unaware that his slacker confession redounds to his discredit. "The Man that Corrupted Hadleyburg"³³ is the story of a tremendous practical joke played by the Devil upon a whole village. Some of the village characters are described in the manner of the frontier tale; reporters discovered in Jack Halliday "the loafing, good-natured, no-account, irreverent fisherman, boys' friend, stray dogs' friend . . . of the town." Fantastic figures of speech suggest the early tall tale: "One could hear his microbes gnaw, the place was so still." And in *Huckleberry Finn*—a collection of short stories, really—direct first-hand pictures of river life characteristic of the early stories linger in Mark Twain's style still. In fact, it was the irreverence and crude boisterousness of the early tales holding over in the style and subject matter of much of his early writing that delayed the recognition of Mark Twain as a serious writer.

But he endowed the short story with distinctively American humor, completing what Washington Irving had

³⁰ Melne, *op. cit.*, pp. 445-448.

³¹ Robb, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-64.

³² *Century magazine* XXXI (December, 1885), 193-204.

³³ *Harper's magazine* C (December, 1899), 29-54.

begun in a more derivative vein. Through him, Missouri, uncertain and struggling and crude, contributed what would become recognized as the first highly original note in American prose and made of him one of the world's master story tellers.³⁴ Unlike Poe, he could not create a formula, nor could he submit to another man's formula. Unlike Bret Harte, he could not ring the changes on a chosen sentimental theme in conventional, accepted English. He was an experimenter in the field of the short narrative until the time of his death.³⁵

Another Missouri writer influenced by both irreverent western humor and established European literary models was Eugene Field (1850-1895)³⁶—though he was much more conventional in his tastes by both temperament and training than Mark Twain. The real difference, however, lay in a vein of high seriousness which appears in the older man's best work and which was lacking in the poet, who appears in his humorous writing as a good deal of a play-boy, and in his serious vein, as a sentimentalist.

Many of the pieces in Field's first volume of stories are in western dialect, a contribution to the local color movement, with a flavor of the tall tale. "Dock Stebbins"³⁷ has the frame-structure of the early humorous stories. A fellow townsman relates, in the vernacular, stories of the doctor's

³⁴Bernard De Voto was the first to make clear the influence of western tall talk and early humorous writing on Mark Twain's style. Cf. *Mark Twain's America* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1932), pp. 98, 99, and Ch. XII, "The Artist as American."

³⁵What neither Mr. De Voto nor Van Wyck Brooks (*The Ordeal of Mark Twain*, 1935) credited, however, was the parallel influence of the agrarian culture in Missouri upon Mark Twain's genius. An interest in American and European literature, which he carried away from Hannibal with him, kept him trying until the end of his life for what was first class. For a discussion of his adoption of eighteenth century models in his short stories, cf. Minnie M. Brashear, *Mark Twain, Son of Missouri* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 1934), pp. 233-234; also Ch. VII, "Mark Twain and the Shadow of Europe."

³⁶Eugene Field's Missouri years, 1870-1881—in 1870 he entered the University of Missouri. In 1873 he was married to Julia Comstock of St. Joseph. Missouri; 1873-1875 he was a reporter on the *St. Louis Evening Journal*; 1875-1876, city editor of the *Times-Journal*; 1876-1881, managing editor of the *Kansas City Times*.

³⁷Eugene Field, *A Little Book of Profitable Tales*, Vol. II of *The Writings in Prose and Verse of Eugene Field* (New York, Scribner's, 1914), pp. 261-270.

practical jokes. "The Cyclopeedy"³⁸ is somewhat in the vein of Artemus Ward. A neighbor tells the story of Leander Hobart's spending his life paying for the volumes he has subscribed for, volume Z arriving at his death bed. His heirs were sued for payment of the Index volume. The story is the first satire on installment plan buying.

In a third story among Field's earlier prose pieces, "The Little Yaller Baby" (1888), his humor appears to have undergone a sea-change. There is the same odd character represented in dialect, and what has the effect of a wisecrack at the end, but the humor is of the tender quality which the admirers of Field's verse know. A Texan, taking his wife East for burial comes into a railway coach carrying a sick looking, crying baby. He sees a woman nursing her own healthy child and shyly asks her to give succor to his hungry baby. As she nurses it, it goes contentedly to sleep. He thanks her again and again: ". . . his heart wuz 'way up in his mouth when he says 'God bless ye!' to that dear lady; 'nd then he added . . . 'I'll do the same for you some time, marm, if I kin.'"³⁹

What might be called a second class of Eugene Field's stories are delicate fantasies, with the same "tenderly humorous" tone. In "The Robin and the Violet,"⁴⁰ a story such as Walt Disney might find possibilities in, the shy, gentle violet cannot listen to the wooing of the southwind, nor of the brook; she is in love with the robin that sings in the linden tree over her head. When hunters send the robin down by her side and the moles and mice bury him, she mourns over his grave until she dies.

Somewhat like these in humorous fancy are stories that might perhaps be called moralized legends. In "Margaret: a Pearl,"⁴¹ a sickly little oyster, thrown into the discard, finally finds shelter under an old gum boot on the sea shore. Among those who come to build up their strength in the sand

³⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 247-261.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 244. Cf. Francis Wilson, "Eugene Field the Humorist," *Century* magazine LXIV (July, 1902), 449: "If there be anything more tenderly humorous. . . I, for one, would go a long way for a chance to read it."

⁴⁰Field, *Profitable Tales*, pp. 95-101.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, pp. 115-135.

is Margaret, loved by young Edward. But she fades and dies. As Edward mourns for her on the beach, children call his attention to a dead oyster by the boot. In it he finds a beautiful pearl, which becomes to him a consoling symbol of his love.

A fourth class of Field's stories, most of them later pieces written for his "Sharps and Flats" column in the *Chicago Daily News*, partake of the satire, often the same type of broad burlesque as that of the early humorists. He satirized the ambition of his friend A. C. McClurg to contribute to the "literary revival invariably expected in this center of culture" in "The Works of Sappho,"⁴² in which he dramatized the city's enthusiasm over a circus parade, in contrast with its far milder interest in Sappho's immortal lines.

Eugene Field's satire on materialistic aspects of Chicago life took many forms. His story "Daniel and the Devil"⁴³ represents the canny business man outwitting the Devil himself. Daniel, in danger of failure, swears to the Devil in a moment of desperation, and, as to Dr. Faustus, the Devil appears to Daniel and proposes to strike a bargain with him. The Devil will make Daniel rich and do his bidding in all things if at the end of the twenty-four years he may have Daniel's soul "without recourse or benefit of clergy." A bond, drawn up by Daniel, is signed by both parties. It will become null and void if during the twenty-four years the Devil refuses a request of Daniel's. As Daniel becomes wealthy, and ambitious for a reputation as a philanthropist, the Devil grudgingly makes it possible for him to sponsor the building of hospitals, churches, charity schools, free baths,

⁴²Eugene Field, *Second Book of Tales*, Vol. X of *The Writings in Prose and Verse of Eugene Field* (New York, Scribner's, 1914), pp. 304-314. McClurg published in volumn a volume of the fragments of Sappho in translation. Charles Dudley Warner, after a lecture trip to Chicago, praised the evidences of culture he found there, but deplored the attitude of the press, who saw in the Sappho publication ". . . occasion . . . for exquisite mockery in the juxtaposition of Sappho with the modern ability to kill seven pigs a minute, and in the cleverest and most humorous manner set all the country in a roar over the incongruity." Quoted by Charles H. Dennis in *Eugene Field's Creative Years* (New York, Doubleday, 1924), p. 99.

⁴³Eugene Field, *The Holy Cross and Other Tales*, Vol. V of *The Writings in Prose and Verse of Eugene Field* (New York, Scribner's, 1914), pp. 111-129. Cf. Mary Saxon, "The Humor of Eugene Field" (Masters Thesis, University of Missouri, 1940), pp. 70-72.

and libraries; but when he demands that only honest men be elected to political office, the Devil threatens to break the bond and throw the matter into court. And when Daniel commands that all saloons be closed on Sunday, the Devil froths at the mouth and in a rage forfeits his bond. The scene is laid in New England. Apparently the same legend underlies this story and Stephen Vincent Benet's "The Devil and Daniel Webster," written more than forty years later. It is strange, in fact, that the possibility that Benet may have been indebted to Field for his germ idea has not been pointed out, though it is possible, of course, that both were suggested, independently, by some New England legend of a Yankee outwitting the Devil.⁴⁴

Better, upon the whole, than the stories of Eugene Field were those written by a contemporary Missouri woman, Kate Chopin (1852-1904), who lived the ten years of her married life in Louisiana among the "'Cadians." When she returned, a widow, to make her home in St. Louis, she entered upon a literary career in order to write about the "'Cadians." Her stories, published by such magazines as the *Century* and William Marion Reedy's *Mirror* at a time when the so-called local color stories were most popular, show only the indirect influence of the early frontier material that all of that type exhibit. She chose as her model du Maupassant, whose French stories she had translated,⁴⁵ but her stories belong in a class with those of G. W. Cable, Grace King, and Lafcadio Hearn. One of the best of them is "Désirée's Baby."⁴⁶ Armand Anbigmy, descended from a proud family of planters, driven by impetuous love, marries Désirée, the adopted daughter of a neighbor, who knows nothing of her family inheritance. When their baby is born Désirée discovers that it is tainted with Negro blood. Her

⁴⁴Field's business man, Daniel, escapes from the clutches of the Devil through his own cunning. Benet's unlucky Jabez Stone, in despair, persuades Daniel Webster to plead his case in court. In each the complication arises when the central character cries out that he would sell his soul to the Devil to retrieve his fortunes, and the Devil appears at once. Both men become prosperous, and in the end the Devil forfeits his bond with both.

⁴⁵Daniel S. Rankin, *Kate Chopin and Her Creole Stories* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1932), pp. 302, 304.

⁴⁶Kate Chopin, *Bayou Folk* (Boston, Mifflin, 1895), p. 148.

husband turns her out with her baby and they disappear into the bayou, never to be heard of again. After their departure Armand, in clearing out his desk, bent upon destroying all reminders of his wife, happens upon part of a letter from his mother to his father. ". . . night and day," she wrote, "I thank the good God for having so arranged our lives that our dear Armand will never know that his mother, who adores him, belongs to the race that is cursed with the brand of slavery." Though the style and mood of the story belong in the more conventional line of literary development, the details of local background and the "nub" at the end relate it to such tales as the "Jumping Frog."

Missouri short stories from the Civil War to 1900 are important, historically, as exhibits to exemplify the influence of the early humorous tale, so popular on the frontier in the United States, upon the later so-called local color stories. In diminishing degrees the indebtedness can be discovered in the short narratives of Mark Twain, Eugene Field, and Mrs. Kate Chopin, the leading Missouri writers of short stories during this period.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The influence of the frontier humorous tale can be found in Missouri short stories of the twentieth century, though writers are not much aware of the indebtedness. It appears rather as the filtering through of devices and themes which have proved effective in all good story writing. One more or less direct hold-over, however, should not be omitted. Professor Raymond Weeks (1883-)⁴⁷ while head of the department of romance languages at the University of Missouri, charmed with the legends of pre-Civil War days which he dis-

⁴⁷Professor Weeks, an Iowa man, received an A.B. from Harvard in 1890, an A.M. in 1891, a Ph.D. in 1897. He taught at Michigan, 1891-1893, at Missouri, 1895-1898, at Illinois, 1908-1909, and at Columbia University, 1909-1929. He defends the dialect in which his characters speak: ". . . the rich, beautiful dialect which crept up the rivers of Missouri in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. See *The Hound-Tuner of Callaway*, p. 259. These people, he says in another story, "inherited a feeling for superior English. They knew . . . that it is more expressive to say: 'I done it,' and 'I ain't said nothing,' than to say flabbily and ineffectually: 'I did it,' 'I haven't said anything.'" *Ibid.*, p. 208.

covered in Callaway and Jackson counties, embodied them in stories first published by J. T. Frederick in the *Midland* magazine and later by the Columbia University Press—*The Hound-Tuner of Callaway*, (1927). Most of these have the flavor of folk stories told by later pioneers. They depict a simpler way of life than ours, of barn-raising, spelling-bees, ballad singing; of odd characters and practical jokes. Two Yankee preachers, who have come by way of Indiana to the frontier, in their ambition "to convuht the wuhld" are directed on the wrong road so that they have to spend the night in the one-room cabin of a settler with four children.⁴⁸ The hound-tuner of the title story is Uncle Basil, an odd character who invented a set of hound-forks which he carried about in his saddle-bags to train the voices of fox-hounds. "He graduated them, until he could express in notes of ravishment all the deep emotions of the canine heart,"⁴⁹ and he made Callaway the hound center of the United States. Returned from the Civil War, he made a three months' pilgrimage over toward Westport in search of his eloping daughter, Peggy, whom he found by means of the hound forks.⁵⁰

It is to be regretted that Rose Cecil O'Neill (1874-1944) of Kewpie fame did not, when toward the end of her life she retired to the land her father had entered near Branson, Missouri, find the kind of folk material discovered by Raymond Weeks in the Missouri River Valley. With her fine wit she might have added a good deal to the fame of the region.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, "Two Gentlemen from Indlany," pp. 236-240.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵⁰Professor Weeks represented, in the stories of early pioneers who settled along the Missouri River, the attitude toward life referred to by John Cowpers Powys, the British lecturer: "This is the real America; this is—let us hope!—the America of the future; this is the region of what may after all prove to be, in Spenglerian phrase, the cradle of the next great human 'culture.' It is in the Middle West . . . that there seems to be growing up . . . a human temper and a human attitude to life that is really a new thing in the world." *Scribner's* 97 (April, 1935), 203. Is it making too great a claim to suggest that this is what America voted for in November, 1948?

McKinley Kantor's fox-hunting story, "The Voice of Bugle Ann," *The Atlantic* 156 (August, 1935), 129-136, 230-247, with the scene laid in the hills south of Jefferson City, also carries on the tradition of listening to the hounds on dark nights. The feud described is told about with the same kind of realistic detail and much the same dialect, and the character of Springfield Davis is of much the same kind as those in the pioneer stories. The story is "a fictionalized version of a feud reported in the Springfield, Mo., papers ten years ago."—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Sun, magazine, February 9, 1936.

The short stories she then published are apparently pot-boilers. They have none of the distinction of the black-and-white drawings which won her recognition in Paris, nor of her poems in *The Master-Mistress* (1922). "A Recipe for Two"⁵¹ is a hilarious story of a girl who has written novels, but knows nothing about making a living—until a summer boarder instructs her and marries her.

Mr. Vance Randolph (1892-),⁵² who has done more than anyone else in preserving Ozark lore, has published legends which might be classed as short stories. "The Feather-grafter" is a south Missouri dialect story of a jail-bird who has learned the tricks known to feather renovators and who has to pay the piper.⁵³ "A Witch on Bradshaw Mountain" is the story of Angie Paxton, who has "the Gift of Second Sight, the ability to commune with spirits good and evil, to understand the past and read the future by some supernatural power." She disturbs the reporter of the tale and a young woman who accompanies him to her cabin, by her forecasts, but she will not allow them to cross her palm with silver. "My power is a gift," she says, "an' gifts shouldn't orter be sold for money."⁵⁴

When Rose Wilder Lane (1887-)⁵⁵ turned from journalism to creative writing she took up her residence in the Ozark region of Missouri and wrote of the people there. Besides the regional novels of that period of her writing, she published a little later *Old Home Town* (1935), a collection of short stories and sketches of the horse-and-buggy days in south Missouri. Many of these suggest the spirit and

⁵¹*Good Housekeeping* 101 (September, 1935), 38-39, 207-211.

⁵²Vance Randolph, born in Kansas, received an A.B. from the Kansas State Teachers College and an A.M. from Clark University. After a period of teaching in the University of Kansas, he was a scenario writer for the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer studios in Culver City (1933-1934); assistant state supervisor for the Federal Writers Project (1936-1937); and has since been a writer on his own.

⁵³Conroy, *op. cit.*, pp. 313-319.

⁵⁴*The University Review* II (University of Kansas City, Summer Number, 1936), 206.

⁵⁵Rose Wilder Lane was born in South Dakota. After a career as journalist in several Western states and some experiments in biography, she became a writer of fiction. She lived at Mansfield in Wright County, Missouri, 1920-1923, and wrote *Hillbilly* (1926) and *Cindy* (1928) with Ozark settings. Cf. *Missouri Historical Review* XLI (April, 1947), 260.

methods of the early humorists. A favorite theme, the vindication of the worth of the country man in a more sophisticated environment, appears in "Country Jake." Ab Whitty at seventeen comes to the town school from Poverty Flat. Persecuted by town boys, he gives them as good as they send; they call him "hayseed," he calls them "dudes." Saturdays he hauls wood to the schoolhouse to pay his tuition. Having been accustomed to boisterous corn-huskings and box-suppers at the country schoolhouse, he is uneasy at oyster suppers at the "Opera House." At a decorous ice cream social he sits down in fly-paper. But Leila Barbrook, the best student in the high school, does not join in the guffaw that follows. Later she runs away and marries Ab Whitty and with her help he becomes a successful man.⁵⁶

One of the most prolific of Missouri-born writers, Rupert Hughes (1872-)⁵⁷ apparently started his career as a creative writer with the idea of using Missouri material. His early story "Born in Missouri Is Born to Trouble"⁵⁸ is a dialect story about the ill-luck of "a Kahoky man" in the Texas oil fields. About 100 of Hughes' stories have been published in such magazines as *Red Book*, *Collier's*, and *Harper's Bazaar*. One of the most successful is "The Last Rose of Summer," which tells of the humiliation and subsequent belated romance of a Midwestern spinster. It pictures vividly the spirit of the agrarian culture as found in the Illinois and Missouri country town—its pretensions and rivalries in contrast with the simple goodness of the central character.⁵⁹

⁵⁶Rose Wilder Land, *Old Home Town* (New York, Longmans, 1935), pp. 50-59.

⁵⁷Born at Lancaster, Missouri, Mr. Hughes was educated in the public schools of Lancaster and Keokuk, Ia. He attended "prep" school in St. Charles, Missouri. Mr. Hughes was graduated from Western Reserve University in 1892 and received an M.A. from Yale in 1899. Interested in literature, music, military tactics, and history, he has had a varied career as writer, magazine editor, in the army, and in Hollywood.

⁵⁸Pearson's magazine XX (August, 1908), 155-162. For a list of his stories see Edward J. O'Brien, *The Best Short Stories of 1918* (Boston, Small, Maynard, 1918), pp. 343-344.

⁵⁹*Metropolitan* 31 (March, 1914), 21. Ina Ten Eyck Firkins, *Index to Short Stories* (New York, Wilson, 1923) lists eighty-three stories of Hughes and the 1929 supplement lists thirteen.

Courtney Ryley Cooper (1886-1940),⁶⁰ in addition to his extensive shelf of novels about the "big top," published many short stories about circus animals and circus folk. These appeared in *The American Magazine* and *Collier's* for the most part. In "Grieve No More"⁶¹ Jimmy Thompson, hired by Pop O'Day to train his tiglon named Jungle, a hybrid beast, succeeds with the assistance of the chorus girl whom he loves, and with her help and that of her horse Toby, rescues Jungle from a fire in the cat barn.

The most distinguished contemporary Missouri writer of short stories is Josephine Winslow Johnson (1910-)⁶² of Kirkwood. Her volume of stories and sketches, *Winter Orchard* (1935), exhibited a literary sense of great promise, but their mood is modern and their technique that of the schools. The exuberant, objective manner of the early writers, an expression of the faith that life, if not yet secure, could be full of interest and satisfaction, is no longer possible in the Missouri that has sent sons off to sacrifice their lives in foreign wars. Comic laughter and the tall tale can no longer get themselves heard. The sensitive young student, with her concern for the plight of the underdog in an industrial society, voices a changed spirit; she is aware that the ironies and disappointments of life weigh down the heart. Even characters that might, to the earlier point of view, have appeared odd and amusing are no longer amusing. Old Harry has bad feet; they hurt him "like there was pins and needles in 'em." He has to hobble about so at the art gallery where he is a caretaker that he is in terror for fear he may lose his job. He is the only bread-winner for the family of his daughter, with whom he lives. When Old Harry is found outside the museum dead in the snow, with a bottle of poison by his side, the reader partakes of the author's sense

⁶⁰ *Missouri Historical Review* XLI (April, 1947), 255.

⁶¹ *Collier's* 104 (August 26, 1939), 20. Cooper's story, "Martin Gerrity Gets Even," was included in the O'Henry Memorial Award Prize Stories of 1921 and "Elephant Forgets" in the 1930 volume.

⁶² Josephine Johnson attended the Kirkwood public schools, Lenox Hall, and Washington University (1926-1931). She received the Pulitzer Prize in 1935 for her first novel, *Now in November*. In 1936 she was an instructor in the Breadloaf School of Writing. She has been interested in many social causes in the state, especially the plight of the share-cropper.

of tragedy. Miss Johnson's later stories, many of them of a class with those of the modern naturalists, have received various O'Henry and Foley awards.

Two St. Louis-born women have won national recognition for stories published in the *New Yorker*. Emily Hahn (1905-) in her story "It Never Happened" told, with the convincing tone of first-hand reporting, of a Portuguese girl in Hong Kong—"a good girl—respectable"—of how difficult it was for her to remain good and respectable.⁶³ Sallie Benson (1900-),⁶⁴ famous for *Junior Miss* and *Meet Me in St. Louis*, has had five volumes of short stories reprinted. Of the thirty-eight brief stories in *Women and Children First* (1943), many of them short-shorts, although the mood is urban and modern, the matter and manner appear often disarmingly simple. A wife, returning from a party where she has lost at bridge and eaten too many small cakes and sandwiches, pities herself because she has to take the subway home. She will make it clear to her husband that she simply must have an adequate allowance. On the car, noticing a man in a shabby overcoat with frayed sleeves, she builds up in her mind a story about how he is neglected by his family; very obviously he has not a cent to spend on himself. When she arrives at home she brusquely takes up with her husband the matter of her allowance. He will try to manage it, he patiently assures her. Then as she goes to hang her wraps in the closet, she notices his overcoat. The ends of the sleeves are badly frayed, and "suddenly, looking at it, she has a horrible sinking feeling, like falling in a dream."⁶⁵ By means of the objective portrayed in the story, together

⁶³*New Yorker* 20 (June 24, 1944), 23-26.

Emily Hahn, educated at Wisconsin University and Columbia, as a mining engineer, had experience in New Mexico (1927-1928), as instructor in geology at Hunter College (1929-1930), with the Red Cross in the Belgian Congo (1930-1931), and in newspaper work in England and North Africa (1931-1941). She is the author of more than a dozen books, some of which, such as *The Soong Sisters* (1941) and *China to Me* (1944) have been best sellers.

⁶⁴Besides *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1942), Sara Mahala Redway Smith Benson has published five volumes of short stories: *People Are Fascinating* (1936), *Emily* (1938), stories of *The Gods and Heroes* (Greek and Roman myths, 1940), *Junior Miss*, (1941), and *Women and Children First*.

⁶⁵Edward Joseph O'Brien, *50 Best American Short Stories* (New York, Milfin, 1939), pp. 614-618.

with reporting the woman's stream-of-consciousness, Sally Benson secures an effect of subtle irony.

Two writers of proletarian stories deserve notice. Jack Balch, a London-born man, who as a youth adopted St. Louis as his home, has written short stories which have been published in *The Anvil* and in *American Stuff* (1937), a Federal Writers Project anthology. His "Momma Gest and the Irisher" is the story of a Jewish woman, who, embarrassed at having to deal with an Irish maid whom her son secures for her, pampers the woman with herring and onions, so that she has to care for her.⁶⁶

Better known among proletarian writers in the United States is Jack Conroy of Moberly, Missouri, the author of *The Disinherited* (1938) whose scene is laid in Moberly.⁶⁷ He has published stories which he "collected in the course of an involuntary tour of the country as a migratory worker," among them "The Sissy from the Hardscrabble County Rock Quarries."⁶⁸ "Children of the Midwest . . . have a common boast," he writes in a prefatory note: "I live on Tough Street. The farther down the street you go, the tougher it gets. I live in the last house.' The 'sissy' who is too tough for the people of the surrounding area, but too delicate for his associates, is a folk figure who persists . . . wherever tall tales are being swapped."

Mrs. Fannie Cook (1893-)⁶⁹ whose problem novels *Boot Heel Doctor* (1941) and *Mrs. Palmer's Honey* (1946) brought her something more than local fame, has contributed short stories to such magazines as *Coronet*, *Woman's World*, and *Common Ground*. "Zorella's Hat" is a story of mulatto share-croppers who are invited to confer with Mrs. Roosevelt

⁶⁶Conroy, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-177. Mr. Balch has been book reviewer for the *Post-Dispatch*. His plays "Me the Sleeper" and "With Chalk on the Sidewalk" have been produced in St. Louis.

⁶⁷*Missouri Historical Review* XLI (April, 1947), 243-244.

⁶⁸Conroy, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-184. Cf. also Benjamin Albert Botkin, *Treasury of American Folklore* (New York, Crown, 1944), pp. 529-530.

⁶⁹Mrs. Cook was born at St. Charles, Missouri. She received an A.B. degree from the University of Missouri in 1914; and an M.A. from Washington University, 1916. She was a teacher of English at Washington University, 1918-1935; has been a civic worker since 1924, chairman of the Missouri Commission for the Rehabilitation of the Sharecroppers since 1940; member of the St. Louis Mayor's Race-Relations Commission, 1943-1946.

at the White House. Their sponsor bestows upon the wife, Zorella, a hand-me-down hat, in honor of the occasion. The husband is uneasy about her appearing in so handsome a hat, and on their return, he tells the sponsor of his embarrassment when Mrs. Roosevelt appeared wearing a hat exactly like Zorella's. He has made Zorella give it up for her "stockin' cap"; "Reckon I was the onliest one there that seen how a thing like that could drive thousands of sharecropper families right outa their cabins into the weather! It shore could; come Mis' Roosevelt happened to be a different kinda lady! Thousands of families out in the weather! You keep that there hat!"⁷⁰

The short story as developed in Missouri falls rather naturally into three periods. The first period of clumsy beginnings, which may be said to last until the Civil War, has had little or no recognition. In this period, oral folk tales of frontier life were written down and published in newspapers and magazines. Though these belonged on the crudely journalistic or sub-literary level, they contributed to the stories of the second period, from the Civil War to 1900, a new vein in which both the techniques and the subject matter of the earlier stories became important. Mark Twain lifted the tall tale to the level of respectability and secured recognition for it in world literature. And after 1900, in the third period of Missouri writing, the frontier stories can still be found to influence the Missouri short story.

⁷⁰*New Republic* 103 (December 23, 1940), 866-867.

RAILROADS IN MISSOURI POLITICS 1875-1887

BY HOMER CLEVINGER*

The long clash of interests between the public and the American railroads has taken a new turn. Through their national association and individually the railroads are now using newspaper and magazine space, pamphlets, and other means to convince the public that freight and passenger rates should be increased. There was a time when the shoe was on the other foot. Shippers were trying desperately to convince the public that the government should intervene to lower rates. The present situation offers an excuse to tell the story of the railroads in Missouri politics from 1875 to 1887.

In Missouri, as in other states, a drive to regulate railroads rose with the Granger movement. Illinois, in 1870, led the way with a new constitution authorizing legislation to curb railroads. When the state courts upheld laws enacted under this authority, the railroads turned to the federal courts. While these famous Granger cases were pending before the federal courts, a constitutional convention in Missouri was laboring over the problem of providing legislative authority to control railroads and other corporations.

The work of the convention in Missouri resulted in Article XII of the constitution ratified in the fall of 1875. The next year the United States Supreme Court, in deciding the Granger cases, established the "right of a state to regulate a business that is public in nature though privately owned and managed." Thus, from 1875 until the reversal of the Granger decisions in 1886, the control of railroads in Missouri rested with the legislators.

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Action was slow in coming, however. Intense party loyalties and clashing factional differences within the parties made it politically inexpedient, if not impossible, to focus the public demand on the railroad problem.

Party prejudices, based on emotions aroused by a recent civil war, were deep. Memories of war experiences were renewed, refreshed, and even embellished by "bloody-shirt" political campaigns. A chasm was thus created between Democrats and Republicans which a common interest in railroad legislation could not bridge. As a matter of partisan expediency, if for no other reason, Republican leaders advised opposition to all Democratic bills.¹

A third party was in existence in Missouri all the time from 1874 to 1887. At different times it was called the Greenback, Populist, Greenback-Labor, National, and Union Labor party.² Regardless of name, the leaders, the party press, platforms, and strategy remained the same. This party made the most ado about railroad legislation, but the party leaders allowed their desire for office to neutralize their influence.

It was their common practice to join with the Republicans in strong Democratic counties to defeat Democratic candidates. For their voting strength they depended largely on their proselyting activities among the ex-Confederate farmers who had been or were members of the Grange. In 1878 they elected two senators and twenty-six representatives to the Missouri General Assembly.³ In 1880, they sent four congressmen to Washington. Their success in these elections was of great concern to Democratic leaders who were hard pressed with the problem of maintaining harmony between the factions in their own party. There could be no cooperation between the Democrats and the third party.

The Democratic party, after the repeal of the Test Oath in 1871, was a hodge-podge bound together only by

¹Homer Clevenger, "Missouri Becomes a Doubtful State," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* XXIX (March, 1943), 543-544.

²Homer Clevenger, "The Farmers Alliance in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* XXXIX (October, 1944), 24, note 3.

³*State Almanac and Official Directory of the State of Missouri for 1879* ed. by Michael K. McGrath (St. Louis, Daly, [1879]), pp. 38-39.

a desire to keep the Radical Republicans out of office. The former Whig and Benton Democrats led by such men as James S. Rollins and Francis P. Blair represented the industrial and commercial interests. The ex-Confederates led by Richard P. (Silver Dick) Bland, Francis M. Cockrell, and George G. Vest supported farm interests.

As early as 1873, the farm wing of the Democratic party began to voice a demand for state action to reduce freight rates. Some newspapers at the time made note of the Grange influence on the farmers in the party.⁴

The commercial-industrial faction feared that railroad building in the state would be slowed down by such legislation.⁵ Governor Crittenden in his "Second Biennial Message" of 1885 stated that fixing freight and passenger rates was as impossible as fixing the price of corn, and predicted that rates would be reduced by the working of natural laws. He argued that it was "to the interest of everybody that the railroad companies should remain, as they now are, masters of the rates of transportation."⁶

Partisan expediency thus forced Democratic leaders to steer a middle course. To do nothing meant no regulation of railroads and the danger of losing votes to the third party. Strict regulation might send bolters to the Republicans.⁷

The farmers' complaints in 1873 resulted in a law which required a railroad to accept foreign cars at junction points and haul them at the same rate it charged for its own.⁸ In 1875 a board of railroad commissioners was established. As a fact-finding and advisory body it was expected to insure more efficient enforcement of the laws. A schedule of rates to be drawn up by the commission was made part of the law.

⁴*Missouri Statesman* (Columbia), July 4, 1873; *Tribune* (Jefferson City), May 13, 1873.

⁵*Republican* (St. Louis), January 21, 1880. An editorial pointed out that legislation in Iowa had done this very thing.

⁶*Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri*, ed. by Floyd C. Shoemaker and Grace G. Avery (Columbia, State Historical Society, 1924), VI, 380-383.

⁷Clevenger, "Missouri Becomes a Doubtful State," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXIX, 544-545.

⁸*Laws of Missouri*, 27th General Assembly, Adjourned Session, 1874 (Jefferson City, Regan & Carter, 1874), p. 127.

A conviction for charging higher rates made a railroad guilty of a misdemeanor and liable to the shipper for triple the excess charged.⁹ This law had little effect. No occasional shipper, like a farmer, could afford to gamble the cost of a lawsuit against the small amount he might recover for an overcharge. And, no criminal action against violators was ever filed.

The establishment of the board of railroad commissioners and the adoption of the new constitution seemed to satisfy the farmers. At any rate the agitation for railroad laws subsided for a while after 1875. Also the improvement of economic conditions may have accounted for it. Or, perhaps, the abuses accompanying the keen competition between railroads decreased with the recess in railroad building during and immediately after the depression. The annual reports of the railroad commissioners, however, show that the railroads had not reformed their ways.

Although demands for rate fixing were limited for a while to the rapidly weakening voice of the Grange, other events were building up a reservoir of ill-will for the railroads. The constitution of 1865 had not limited the amount of bonded indebtedness which could be incurred by a county or a township board. A law in 1868 enabled counties, cities, and towns to issue bonds to subscribe to the stock of railroad corporations.¹⁰ Although political subdivisions of Missouri had been permitted to subscribe for railroad stock before the war, this law opened the way for widespread, foolish, and often fraudulent action on the part of county governments.

Most of the bonds were issued under this law during the period when former Confederates could not vote for public officers but there is evidence that in a great majority of cases the incurring of debts probably was assented to by "rebels" and Republicans alike. While ex-Confederates were allowed no part in governing a county, they were often allowed to vote on questions of extraordinary public expenditures.

⁹*Laws of Missouri*, 28th General Assembly, 1875 (Jefferson City, Regan & Carter, 1875), pp. 113-119.

¹⁰*Laws of Missouri*, 24th General Assembly, Adjourned Session, 1868 (Jefferson City, Kirby, 1868), p. 46.

However, it did give an opportunity for the Democrats to blame their Republican predecessors in some localities upon the Democrats' election to office after the repeal of the Test Oath.¹¹ In those counties which had been strongly pro-Southern during the war, the stories of the so-called carpet-bag or scalawag officials closely paralleled those told of the looseness, graft, and fraud in the state governments of the South at the same time. A railroad corporation would be formed, a movement to secure right-of-way begun, and construction started. Then county bonds were issued to purchase stock. With the stock sold, the corporation often disappeared. The counties were left with a heavy debt and a short stretch of railroad dump.

Where the money went is a question not yet answered. It was rumored that \$90,000 worth of St. Clair County bonds was the stake in an evening's poker game.¹² Other tall tales and interesting facts might be assembled, but that is another story.

The result was, according to the census of 1880, that counties and townships in Missouri were deeper in debt than those of any state in the Union except those of New York and Illinois.¹³

The Democrats who had gone into the local offices after 1871 were faced with the impossible problem of meeting the interest and providing sinking funds to pay these debts. Justifying themselves with the excuse that the Radical Republicans had fraudently issued the bonds, many county courts and township boards refused to levy a tax to pay the interest. Many advocated forthright repudiation.

The bond holders went to court. State courts tended to favor the bond holders at first and declared the bonds had been issued legally. In 1871 there were dangerous rumblings

¹¹Edward L. Lopata, *Local Aid to Railroads in Missouri* (New York, Parnassus, 1937), pp. 80-81, 118, 131. Nearly all the counties with outstanding railroad bonds in 1878 had been strongly pro-Southern.

¹²*Republic* (St. Louis) (semi-weekly), February 13, 1894.

¹³U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880; Vol. VII, Valuation, Taxation, and Public Indebtedness* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1884), pp. 756-757, 892.

over the state. A mass meeting in Callaway County resolved to pay no more interest on the \$640,000 bonds issued to the Louisiana and Missouri River Railroad. Ray, Henry, Cass, Johnson, Lawrence, Jasper, Vernon, and Bates followed suit. In Gunn City the next year, three men were killed by a mob when the county court issued new bonds to met a payment on the county debt. It was necessary to send troops to quell the disturbance.¹⁴ The county judges of Vernon County were warned that harm would come to them if they levied a tax.¹⁵

The judges of St. Clair and Lafayette counties resigned to escape the predicament of being ordered by the court to levy a tax and threatened by an aroused citizenry if they did. The courts held in the St. Clair County case that the judges must remain in office until their successors had been qualified. Governor Hardin refused to accept the resignation of the Lafayette County officers.¹⁶

A sympathetic legislature, in 1879, passed a bill to make a resignation from office immediately effective when filed with the county clerk. Governor Phelps vetoed the bill on the ground that county government might break down if this were permitted.¹⁷ This legislature also sent a joint and concurrent resolution to the senators and representatives in Washington asking that cases against counties or other subdivisions of the state be put outside the jurisdiction of federal courts.¹⁸

All was in vain, however. The federal courts ruled that the bonds must be paid.¹⁹ One by one the counties faced the irksome problem of settling with the bondholders. At the end of 1883 only Dallas, St. Clair, and Macon counties were still feuding with their creditors.²⁰

¹⁴Lopata, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-105.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 111.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 112.

¹⁷*Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri*, VI, 125-131.

¹⁸*Laws of Missouri*, 30th General Assembly, 1879 (Jefferson City, Carter & Reagan, 1879), pp. 259-260.

¹⁹*Republic* (St. Louis), December 1, 1880, reporting on "City of Louisiana vs. Wood."

²⁰Lopata, *op. cit.*, pp. 111, 119.

The heat of the county bond issue in state politics gradually subsided as each county accepted the inevitable. But, the ten-year squabble over the payment of the bonds left an inheritance of dislike for the railroads.

The second campaign to regulate the railroads began in 1880 when John S. Marmaduke, who had been a Confederate major general, made a bid for the Democratic nomination for governor. As editor of the *St. Louis Journal and Farmer* and as railroad commissioner since 1875, he had assumed the leadership of the regulationist faction.²¹ The Union Democrat and Whig faction, which had furnished all the governors since 1872, stood for Thomas T. Crittenden.

Marmaduke had little chance to win. John O'Day, attorney for the "Frisco," was chairman of the Democratic state committee, and a majority of the committeemen was against regulating the railroads. It was rumored that unlimited passes were issued to the delegates who attended the state convention, and it was known that the anti-regulationists would take advantage of their majority in the state committee.

The railroad issue was so heated that several local conventions split. Each faction then chose delegates to the state convention. When two delegations from the same county appeared at the convention, O'Day's credentials committee did its duty. No Marmaduke supporters were given seats.

Even with all this against him, Marmaduke received 80 out of 408 votes on the first ballot. Crittenden, a Union Democrat and former Union officer with a laissez-faire philosophy toward railroads, was nominated.²² His election meant no serious interference with the railroads for four years.

The demand for railroad control had come primarily from farm interests up to 1880. The strength necessary for success eventually grew out of a movement begun in the St. Louis Merchants and Manufacturers Exchange in 1875. While the constitutional convention was in session and during the campaign for ratification, the newspapers attacked the railroads for discriminating against St. Louis in favor of other

²¹*Missouri Statesman* (Columbia), May 21, 1880.

²²*Republican* (St. Louis), July 21 and 22, 1880.

cities. D. P. Rowland, president of the board of directors, called attention to these reports and continued, "Such outrages—there is no better name for them—do exist; . . . they affect us all individually and every man should do all in his power to correct them."²³ It was felt that freight rates hindered St. Louis in competing for trade in areas where a geographical short line should give them an advantage.²⁴

The next year a transportation committee was appointed to study the problem. It reported that Kansas City merchants were tempted to trade in Chicago because of existing freight rates. The same was true for Moberly. Farmers around Wellsville hauled their corn twenty-two miles by wagon to Mexico and shipped it to Chicago although Wellsville was only ninety miles by rail from St. Louis. Hogs could be shipped 464 miles from Clinton to Chicago at better rates than they could be shipped 229 miles to St. Louis.²⁵ After listing other inequalities in freight rates which seemed to discriminate against St. Louis, the committee recommended action.

State regulation was not then proposed, but when the census of 1880 showed that Chicago had outstripped St. Louis in population, laissez-faire scruples were dropped. It was hoped that by stopping rate discrimination against St. Louis, reducing the tariff, and opening a "Lakes to Gulf" waterway, St. Louis could be made the natural center for trans-shipment of goods to South America.²⁶ In this way St. Louis could regain the commercial leadership of the Middle West.

The newspapers of the city took up the battle. The *St. Louis Republican*, which had long been the organ of the

²³Annual Statement of the Trade and Commerce of St. Louis for the Year of 1875, Reported to the Merchants Exchange of St. Louis, by George H. Morgan, secretary (St. Louis, Studley, 1876), p. 12.

²⁴Ibid. for 1876, p. 20.

²⁵Report of the Transportation Bureau of the Merchants Exchange of St. Louis, submitted by the Executive Committee, April 12, 1876, pp. 58, 74, 75.

²⁶Fred E. Haynes, *Third Party Movements Since the Civil War with Special Reference to Iowa* (Iowa City, State Historical Society, 1916), pp. 225-226; *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1881* (New York, Appleton, 1882), pp. 609-610.

conservatives, shifted its policy. In 1880 it warned that railroad construction had ceased in Iowa because of restrictive laws. In 1883, it went so far as to champion some striking switchmen and criticized the railroads severely.²⁷ The *Globe-Democrat* said St. Louis was being deliberately harmed by the eastern owners of railroads who had mortgages in Chicago.²⁸ This Republican organ wanted something done about it.

The pro-regulation faction among St. Louis Democrats also profited when some scandals in the police department were exposed. In 1881 Governor Crittenden was forced to replace some members of the police board to secure enforcement of the Sunday closing law for saloons. In doing this he alienated the wets. Two years later a grand jury found that some members of the police board and the Butler machine had conspired to protect the gamblers of the city. An indignation meeting at the Merchants Exchange demanded that the governor clean up the mess. Instead of removing the accused officers, Crittenden sneered at the false piety of the Merchants Exchange where gambling in futures was part of the day's work. The Merchants Exchange, now openly advocating rate regulation, made the most of the fuss. Crittenden's loss of the wets in 1881 and the churchmen in 1883 gave control of the city conventions to the pro-regulation faction in 1884.²⁹

Marmaduke, who had lost to Crittenden in 1880, launched his second campaign in the summer of 1883. The squabbles in St. Louis that fall kept the political pot boiling. When the state Democratic committee met in April, 1884, to plan for conventions, it was clear that the anti-regulationists had lost control of the party. The St. Louis *Republican* jubilantly reported, "Bo-peep O'Day has lost his sheep."³⁰

When the convention met in August, the pro-regulation faction was in control, but expediency dictated a compromise

²⁷*Republican* (St. Louis), January 21, 1880; October 16 and 18, 1883.

²⁸*Globe-Democrat* (St. Louis), January 17, 1885.

²⁹*Republican* (St. Louis) October 14 and 27, 1883; *Missouri Statesman* (Columbia), November 2 and 30, 1883; Thomas T. Crittenden to James S. Rollins, December 1, 1883, James S. Rollins Manuscript Collection, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.

³⁰*Republican* (St. Louis), April 11, 1884.

strategy. Marmaduke was nominated for governor and Albert P. Morehouse, of the opposing faction, for lieutenant-governor. The other offices were divided.

The party leaders managed to keep the railroad question off the floor of the convention. The resolutions committee avoided the use of the word "railroad" in the platform. It was feared that John O'Day's candidacy for the state committee might cause an unwanted division. To avoid this he refused to run for the office.³¹ Neither faction wanted a split which might defeat the party in November.

Republican leaders, however, were quick to make political capital out of the strained relations between the Democratic factions. Robert S. Van Horn, editor of the *Kansas City Journal*, even before Marmaduke was nominated, advised the nomination of a non-partisan ticket to catch Greenbackers, Prohibitionists, and dissatisfied Democrats of the "Rollins stripe."³²

The Greenbackers and Republicans later joined forces to support a group of candidates known as the Anti-Bourbon-Fusion Ticket. Nicholas Ford of St. Joseph, a one-time Republican who had been elected to Congress on the Greenback ticket in 1880, headed the ticket. David Murphy of St. Louis, who had bolted the Democratic party a few years before, was put up for attorney-general. The other offices were divided between the two parties.³³

The Prohibitionists refused to support the fusion candidates because Ford had once been a saloon keeper. They brought out a ticket of their own.³⁴

Neither the Democrats nor the Anti-Bourbon-Fusion party could bring up the railroad question in the campaign, although the National-Greenback-Labor platform, issued earlier, did come out in favor of regulation. Since a number of Greenbackers were ex-Confederates, the Anti-Bourbon-Fusionists soft pedaled the usual Republican "bloody-shirt" refrain. Each party concentrated on electing its ticket of candidates.

³¹*Republican* (St. Louis), August 13, 14, and 15, 1884.

³²*Ibid.*, July 22, 1884; *Globe-Democrat* (St. Louis), July 22, 1884.

³³*Republican* (St. Louis), September 10, 1884.

³⁴*Republican* (St. Louis), April 16 and 21, August 20, 1884.

The James boys seemed to be the leading topic of discussion. The governor had undertaken to pardon "Bob" Ford for killing Jesse before the case had been settled in the courts. This undue haste had inspired heated criticism from the rural Democratic press. When suspicions were aroused that the railroads had furnished the reward money, the governor received even more abuse. The surrender of Frank James in October, 1882, and the unsuccessful attempts to convict him in 1883 and 1884 kept the matter before the public.

Ira S. Hazeltine, keynoter in the Greenback convention, pleaded for the riddance of "Frank James, Marmaduke, and the whole gang."³⁵ The Republicans, who had planned to hold their nominating convention in Moberly, dramatically changed the place of meeting when Frank James was invited to attend a fair at Moberly as an attraction.³⁶ The Anti-Bourbon-Fusion state platform asked for the defeat of the Democratic party because of "its alliance with and the protection of notorious and confessed banditti, whose presence in Missouri has driven out immigration from its borders and capital from its industries."³⁷ So went the campaign.

Marmaduke won the governorship by a plurality of 10,946 votes. The legislative body was a hodge-podge. One newspaper sarcastically classified the members as twenty-seven ex-Confederates, twenty-eight ex-Unionists, forty-nine farmers, thirty-two lawyers, six doctors, six newspapermen, five ministers, and the remainder, storekeepers, clerks, and statesmen.³⁸

No respectable regulatory bill could be expected from this body, and none came. Intentions might have been good, but the medley of political philosophies represented made it easy for the railroad lobbyists to play on the discords. A bill was introduced in each house in the early part of the session but neither could be put through.

³⁵*Ibid.*, August 21, 1884.

³⁶*Ibid.*, August 31, 1884.

³⁷*Official Directory of Missouri, 1885*, ed. by Michael K. McGrath (Jefferson City, Mo., 1885), p. 97.

³⁸*Globe-Democrat* (St. Louis), January 8, 1885; *Official Directory of Missouri, 1885*, p. 18.

The defeat of a bill to require railroads in cities of 40,000 or more to lease their switches to one another was especially disappointing to St. Louis. The bill was expected to stop Jay Gould from using his ownership of the terminal facilities in a way which was disastrous for his competitors and detrimental to the commercial interests of the city.

On the day the bill was defeated, one legislator offered this ironic resolution: "Resolved: That Brockmeyer, Dawes, O'Day, and all their confreres in the work of strengthening the grasp of the railroad monopolies on the people of Missouri be discharged from all further labor in that direction, and that they be granted leave of absence for the remainder of the session."³⁹

The disappointment of the commercial and farm elements over the failure to pass regulatory laws increased their determination to secure action in the next legislature. Public opinion even supported the laborers in a railroad strike which brought both Kansas City and St. Louis dangerously near to suffering in the summer of 1886.⁴⁰

All three parties, Democrat, Republican, and National, in the fall elections had demands for regulatory legislation in their platforms.⁴¹ Senator Francis M. Cockrell, Senator George G. Vest, and Representative Richard P. Bland, who had been careful to avoid this local issue, now came forth against the railroads. John O'Day, who had long wielded a strong influence in the Democratic organization, could not restrain the Democratic convention. It emphatically demanded regulation of freight rates in the platform.⁴²

³⁹*Daily Tribune* (Jefferson City), March 21, 1885. The lobbyists were John O'Day for the St. Louis and San Francisco; A. C. Dawes for the Hannibal and St. Joseph; Wells Blodgett for the Wabash; and former Lieutenant-Governor H. C. Brockmeyer, a notorious lobbyist for any railroad.

⁴⁰*The Official History of the Great Strike of 1886 on the Southwestern Railway System*, compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and Inspection of Missouri (Jefferson City, 1886), bound with the *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics and Inspection for the State of Missouri, for the Year Ending December 31, 1886* (Jefferson City, Tribune, 1887), pp. 58-59; Allen Nevins, *Grover Cleveland* (New York, Dodd, Mead, 1932), p. 346.

⁴¹*Official Directory of the State of Missouri for 1887-8*, ed. by Michael K. McGrath (Jefferson City, Thompson, 1888), pp. 159-165.

⁴²*Republican* (St. Louis), August 9, 1886; *Weekly Globe-Democrat* (St. Louis), August 26, 1886.

In the election which followed, the Democrats elected a working majority in each house of the legislature. A survey conducted by the St. Louis Merchants and Manufacturers Exchange showed that most of them would be governed by the party caucus. Since both the Republicans and third party members had been elected on platforms favoring a regulatory bill, enactment of a law seemed assured.⁴³

That the task might not be easy was discovered when the reformers in the Democratic caucus had difficulty in electing their candidate for speaker of the House. They won, however, and he immediately appointed what was thought to be a "lobby-proof" committee on internal improvements and transportation. In a few days the committees of both houses had scheduled joint hearings on a bill prepared by the St. Louis Merchants and Manufacturers Exchange.⁴⁴

After losing the contest for speaker of the House, the railroad lobby sought other means to block passage of the bill. All the lobbyists who had been present in 1885 were on hand. Two others had been brought in and all were said to be working under the direction of John O'Day.

Although the Democratic party was committed to pass such a bill by its platform, some of the party leaders opposed it. O'Day was chairman of the executive committee of the state committee. D. H. Shields, the chairman of the state committee, worked against its passage. M. K. McGrath, the secretary of state, lent his office for lobby headquarters, and several of the Democratic legislators, who had promised to be bound by the caucus, did not live up to their agreement. A majority of Democrats in both houses wanted the bill, but they could not command the necessary votes to pass it.⁴⁵

The Republicans seized the opportunity to embarrass the Democrats on whom the responsibility for passing the bill lay. Senator Steele Ryors of Osage County openly counseled the Republicans to vote for the railroads and

⁴³*Official Directory of the State of Missouri for 1887-1888*, pp. 193-213; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1886, p. 576; *Republican* (St. Louis), January 4 and 5, March 14, 1887.

⁴⁴*Republican* (St. Louis), February 15, 1887.

⁴⁵*Republican* (St. Louis), January 3, 5, and 27; February 3, 5, and 18, 1887.

subject the Democrats to damaging criticism. Although the Republican party had also stood for railroad regulation in its platform, six of the nine Republican senators and twenty-four of the fifty representatives followed this advice.⁴⁶

The lobby was said to have used \$80,500 to corrupt the legislators. One senator revealed that he had been offered \$3,000 to vote as the lobby directed. The *St. Louis Republican* reported, "While honest people sleep, one crowd of lobbyists is getting one group tipsy while another is setting up jackpots for those who like poker."⁴⁷

Lawyer legislators were promised future railroad retainers or threatened with the loss of those they had. The legislators of southeast Missouri, where there were only a few railroads, were shown paper schemes for a railroad in every county. It was hinted that all these would be built if the legislature did nothing to harm the railroads.⁴⁸

The legislative calendars were flooded with bills to impede action. Attempts were made to make a deal with every legislator who was vitally interested in some local bill. Senator Lyman Parcher of Nodaway County wanted a normal school at Maryville. By changing his attitude on the railroad bill, he expected lobby support for his bill. The lobby made a trade with some who wanted to move the state capital to Sedalia. The dries joined the lobby to get votes for a bill to submit a prohibition amendment. The *St. Louis Republican* said the lobbyists were "beer lovers in beer loving districts, prohibitionists in prohibition districts, and Gould men everywhere."⁴⁹

In order to defeat this logrolling strategy, the reformers brought the capital removal scheme to a vote ahead of the railroad bill. To ruin the trade with the Prohibitionists, a local option bill was passed in the hope that it would be "submission enough for the submissionists, prohibition enough for the prohibitionists, and democratic enough for the Demo-

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, January 8 and 27; February 3 and 26; March 1, 8, and 14, 1887.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, February 4, 1887.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, January 5; February 3, 5, 24, and 28; March 4, 9, and 13; June 17, 1887.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, January 13 and 28; February 3, 4, and 28; March 1, 5, and 15, 1887.

crats."⁵⁰ Senator Parcher was disciplined as a warning to others. The reform bloc killed the Maryville Normal bill when the votes of the railroad senators exposed his deal with the lobby.

The reformers closely watched all those who were associating with the lobbyists. Reports of their actions were sent to the newspapers in their home districts. The editors scorched them with editorials and demanded that they live up to their promises.⁵¹

All was in vain, however. The lobby was too strong for the reformers. Noon, March 21, had been set as an adjournment date early in the session. As the hour for adjournment approached on that day, the reformers gave up hope of pushing their bill through. They reported their despair to Governor Marmaduke at 10:30. Within fifteen minutes a special message was presented to each house saying an extra session would be called if the bill was not passed. Even this last urge failed and adjournment came without passage of the bill.⁵²

The action of the General Assembly had been front page news all winter. The failure to pass a bill brought a barrage of editorials all over the state. The legislators were bitterly criticized. Mass meetings in protest were common. One in Pike County insisted that Senator David A. Ball either vote for the bill in the special session or resign. In Senator Steele Ryor's district, mass meetings in every county demanded that their representatives vote for the bill. The farmers in both parties were angry.⁵³

With such a force of public opinion behind it and attention limited to it by the call for the special session, passage of the bill should have been easy, but such was not the case. In his message, Governor Marmaduke reminded the legislators that they had accepted election on platforms demanding

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, January 4, 13, and 21; February 3 and 4; March 15, 1887.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, February 8, 1887. On March 12 an extended list of excerpts from critical editorials in the rural press was printed.

⁵²*Republican* (St. Louis), March 18 and 22, 1887; *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri*, VII, 85-86.

⁵³*Republican* (St. Louis), March 24, May 18, 1887.

railroad regulation and warned them that the people's wishes had not changed.⁶⁴

The lobby now turned its effort toward amending the bill to make it ineffective, but the reformers were firm. After the extra session had dragged on for a month, and the reformers had threatened to take the issue to the people, the lines of the opposition began to break. The legislators from the Southeast, one by one, joined the reformers, and Senator Parcher again set out to line up the other Republican senators for the bill.⁶⁵

A split appeared in the ranks of the lobbyists. John O'Day had secretly favored a terminal bill during the regular session. His company was at the mercy of the Gould interests which controlled the terminal facilities in St. Louis. The other lobbyists turned against him during the special session and thus weakened their own ability to apply pressure.⁶⁶

Eventually, the lobby realized that a bill was sure to pass. They then made an honest effort to help the committee bring out a bill which would be satisfactory to the reformers and fair for the railroads. After almost two months of wrangling, the bill passed.⁶⁷

The law, approved July 5, 1887, forbade undue or unreasonable discrimination and made violation of rulings of the railroad commission *prima facie* evidence of unreasonableness. The railroad commission was empowered to make a schedule of reasonable maximum rates, and to proceed against a railroad in the name of the state for charging more for a short than a long haul, pooling profits, failing to post schedules of rates, or for violation of any part of the law. The commission was enabled to subpoena witnesses, examine them under oath, and direct the attorney-general or any county prosecuting attorney to bring charges for infractions. To insure diligent enforcement, any citizen was given the right

⁶⁴*Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri*, VII, 342-344.

⁶⁵*Republican* (St. Louis), May 28; June 9, 10, 15, and 30; July 2, 1887.

⁶⁶*Republican* (St. Louis), February 12; June 7, 1887.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, June 8, 1887.

to institute mandamus proceedings against the commissioners to force them to act.⁵⁸

Although Governor Morehouse, in his message to the next legislature, said the law had been cheerfully complied with in most cases, experience taught that there were loopholes in the law. The freight of friendly shippers could be underweighed and underclassified. Shipping clerks, to whom the railroads paid commissions for securing freight, could divide their commissions with large shippers. The law had made it illegal to give passes to public officers but did not forbid passes for delegates to political conventions. The railroads still kept their influence on political leaders.

Missouri's troubles with the railroads were far from over. But, no fair opportunity permitted the state to test and refine the law. The reversal of the Granger cases in 1886 and the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act in 1887 marked the trend away from state to federal control at the very time Missourians were up in arms. Thus, 1887 did not become a landmark in Missouri history.

⁵⁸*Laws of Missouri, 34th General Assembly Extra Session, 1887* (Jefferson City, Mo., Tribune, 1887), pp. 12-28.

CIVIL WAR EXPERIENCES

BY BENJAMIN F. SWEET*

EDITED BY VIVIAN KIRKPATRICK McLARTY†

I enlisted in the army at Marathon, Clermont County, Ohio, about August 20, 1861, and went into the company made up at Williamsburg [Ohio], by Captain Finney. We left Williamsburg about August 25th and drove to Milford, where we had a splendid dinner in the grove at the station. We then took the express train for Columbus, arriving there in good shape about nine o'clock at night. We stayed in the state house that night and the next morning about eight o'clock were called to breakfast. The bill of fare consisted of a tin cup of coffee, about a third of a loaf of bread, and a chunk of fat bacon, boiled. Lots of the boys stepped back and bought their breakfast, but the Captain was an old Mexican soldier, and ate as though he was used to eating such things. I watched him and did the same. About 10 o'clock we marched out to Camp Chase, which is four miles west of the city. We were soon in quarters and commenced drilling.

*BENJAMIN F. SWEET was born March 22, 1839, on a farm in Clermont County, Ohio, where he lived until he enlisted in the Union army. He served almost four years in the war and this sketch of his experiences was written entirely from memory nearly forty years later. At the close of the war he married and began farming in Butler County, Ohio, later moving to Audrain County, Missouri, where by rigid economy he bought a farm. Here he was good-naturedly called "Yankee Ben" by his neighbors. In 1881 he traded this farm for a larger and better one in Pike County where, although a neighbor of Champ Clark and other Democrats, he continued to vote the Republican ticket.

These experiences have been selected for publication because of the section devoted to Missouri as well as because of the unbiased way in which the author viewed the war. He simply recites the human side of the war which is seldom covered in textbooks.

The manuscript of these experiences was submitted to the State Historical Society of Missouri for publication by A. T. Sweet of Neosho, Missouri, who is the son of Benjamin F. Sweet.

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EARLY DAYS OF THE WAR IN MISSOURI

On the 30th of August we were mustered into the 27th Ohio, Volunteer Infantry Company K, Colonel Fuller in command of the regiment. We drilled about ten hours a day, with coats on and buttoned up. We only stayed in Camp Chase a few days when we were taken by train to Cincinnati. From there we took a boat to Louisburg [Louisville, Kentucky?], at which point we again took a train and the next morning arrived in St. Louis. It was very warm and about ten o'clock we marched in front of General Frémont's headquarters. We stood there in the hot sun for an hour. After a long time he came out, looked us over, and ordered us to Camp Benton.¹ We stayed there a few days but drilled all the time. On Sunday morning we were ordered to move out. We boarded a Wabash freight train and Company K was ordered on top of the cars. At four in the afternoon we arrived at Mexico [Missouri]. General Green had been there raising men for Price so we went into camp and put out a guard.

We stayed there several days, then one night we were ordered aboard a freight train and before morning were set off at a station called [blank in MS.] which the boys gave the name of Honey Hill, because they robbed a big lot of bees there. The next morning we started on a forced march. The weather was hot and the prairie grass almost as high as our heads. We marched all that day and the following night. About sun up the next morning we were within about two and a half miles of Lexington [Missouri], but Price had taken the ferry boats and we had to start on a retreat. We marched all that day and at sundown we went into camp on Camden Heights on the Missouri River. Just after dark, word came that the Rebels were surrounding us and we were ordered to fall in and march up the river. We marched all night and

¹Camp Benton was on the western end of and adjoining the St. Louis fair grounds. During the Civil War it had a wide celebrity as temporary military quarters for assembling, organizing, and mustering in troops for immediate service in the field. September, 1865, the camp was disbanded and the grounds turned over to the owner by the government. William Hyde and Howard L. Conard, editors, *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis* (New York, Southern History, 1899), I, 134-135.

about day light we crossed Fish River [Fishing River?] and burned the bridge. We had a rest there for a couple of hours, then marched all day and stayed all night at some little town four miles from the river. The next day we were ordered to march to the river where we boarded a boat for Kansas City.

We landed just below the place where the Union Depot now stands and slept on the stone wharf all night. The next morning the quartermaster tried to get us something to eat. They had a strong camp guard but John Hawthorne and I passed the guard and went to a hotel where we got our dinner, then we thought we would see the town. That was my first sight of Kansas City. That evening they brought in a lot of wounded men, the first that we had seen. They had been wounded several days and the blood had dried on their clothing. We stayed in the city several days and drilled on that high hill close to the Union Depot. In a few days the Kansas Jayhawkers got into trouble with Westport, which was then four miles from the city, and our company was sent out there. We got there Saturday and the people of Westport disliked Union soldiers so much they would not even look our way. Sunday morning we all dressed in clean clothes and when the church bell rang the Captain marched us to the church. Here we stacked our arms and put a guard over them after which the whole company filed into the church. The people gave us all the room we wanted, but that afternoon some of the best citizens visited us in camp. Monday they brought in fruits and vegetables and furnished us plenty to eat as long as we stayed there. At that time there was a young ladies' school about half a mile from camp. Like most girls they could not keep from speaking to men in uniform, and used to come out and spend the best part of the day in talking to the soldiers. By a woman who was a student in this school at that time I have been told that nearly every one of those Rebel girls married Union soldiers.

We were ordered from Kansas City in a short time, General Frémont having ordered a large force to Springfield.²

²Union troops were advancing into Missouri from the north, the east and the west. Frémont, who was in charge of the Union troops in Missouri, had sent 20,000 troops to Springfield. Therefore, on September 30, Price found it

Our first trouble was at Osceola on the Osage River. They thought at first that we could wade but when we got there it would swim a horse in the shallowest place. We finally got across on a flat boat run with pullies. We drew our first flour that evening and it was amusing to see the men try to cook without any cooking vessel. It was at this time that Corporal Hulton got his name of "Corporal Starch." He said he knew what he would do. He would make mush and then fry it but the more he fried it the thinner it got. The name stuck to him until the close of the war.

We were then ordered to Greenfield where we had the honor of tearing down the first Rebel flag pole that was raised in the state. The weather was very cold and we had been on half rations for some time, but after a few days we were ordered out about four o'clock one afternoon on a forced march to Springfield, a distance of forty miles. Another man and I caught two big fat possums, dressed them and when we stopped had a good meal. The night was dark and cold. About twelve o'clock we got the orders "Front, stack arms, prepare to wade." We stripped and waded, dressed and marched about a mile when we had to do the same thing again. After marching until about four o'clock the next evening we arrived in Springfield. There was a detail for picket guard and I was on it. We were ordered back on the gravel road about three miles with orders to hold the enemy back as long as we could then fall back on the main line. We had failed to draw rations in the evening and they were to send them out to us, but they failed to come and we were not relieved until that evening. Don't know the day of the month but it was Sunday and every thing was quiet in camp.

On Tuesday morning there was a detail of men sent to the Wilson Creek battle field [southwest of Springfield] to bury the dead that had been left there after the battle of

necessary to retreat from Lexington into southwest Missouri. Frémont had collected 40,000 men in Springfield by the latter part of October, planning to defeat Price and overrun Arkansas. However he was removed from office on November 2 and General Hunter put in his place. Hunter ordered the Union troops to withdraw to Rolla and Sedalia. Floyd C. Shoemaker, *A History of Missouri and Missourians* (Columbia, Ridgway, 1922), p. 226; John McElroy, *The Struggle for Missouri* (Washington, National, 1909), pp. 221-234.

Wilson Creek [August 10, 1861]. The distance is sixteen miles and if I stepped on the ground in the entire distance I have forgotten it. The ground is entirely covered with flint rock. Our squad buried seven men that day that had dried in the sun for two months, and got back to Springfield by night, and were tired. In a few days we found out that General Frémont had collected a large army here and was over 200 miles from his base of supplies, so we were ordered back to Sedalia.

On the route we had to forage or starve and I always preferred to forage. The orders were that if any man was caught killing a hog he would be shot, but John Hawthorne and I dressed one, one night by the light of the General's camp fire. Our captain was an old soldier of the Mexican war. He always said that it was alright to steal, but not to get caught at it. We had a long march back to our base of supplies, and winter was coming on. We went into camp at Clear Creek between Sedalia and Georgetown, which was then the county seat of Pettis County. There we passed our first review under General U. S. Grant.

While in camp here some of Price's men captured some of our foragers, stripped them and let them go. Our captain was sent out after them. We were only gone one day and night. Then we were ordered out on a scout to Nobnoster [Knobnoster]. Late in the evening of the second day we came to a company of recruits on their way to join Price. They were in camp in a bend of the river where it makes a perfect horse shoe. They were getting supper and having a gay time. We lost one man and captured 1300 men and twenty wagons loaded with supplies. We put a guard over the men. The night was cold and the prisoners had to carry wood to keep their fires burning. One of them thinking he would get away from the guard ran behind a tree, then behind a wagon but when he came in sight the guard shot him dead. That was all the trouble we had. The next morning we started early for Sedalia and I don't think we ever marched as far in one day before.

After we were in camp a few days our company was sent to Georgetown where we had very good quarters in the court

house. There was some one here who sold the men whiskey. One day the Captain said "Ben, get your gun and come with me." We started to the north part of town, the Captain with his nose up in the air like a bird dog. We did not go more than two blocks when he went into a house and we rolled out two barrels of whiskey, one of which had never been opened and the other was half full. He picked up an ax and stove in the heads. I did not know before that that much whiskey could raise as big a smell. The Captain left word that if the men bought any more whiskey there he could send the man who sold it where he would be taken care of.

About the first of January, 1862, we went back to Sedalia and went into camp on the west side of town. We stayed there until the 4th of February, when we were ordered to take up the line of march. We crossed the Missouri River at Jefferson City and were about two days in getting across. In a day or two after we got on the north side the weather turned very cold and the roads were fearful. I don't know how long we were getting to St. Charles where we recrossed and that evening got into Benton Barracks. Just about sundown we were waiting for the officers to show us our quarters when an orderly rode up and handed Colonel Fuller an order. He about faced us and marched us down to the wharf where we stayed all night.

The next morning we loaded on a boat and went down the river to a point some distance above Cairo [Illinois]. There we landed and in a few days had quite an army. We then started in a southwest direction. The enemy we found was commanded by Jeff Thompson. Some distance this side of New Madrid we had a little scratch with him.³

The next day we got in sight of New Madrid. When we were within a mile of the town they commenced throwing shells over us. I was on the skirmish line and we did not

³On October 20, one force of Federals under Colonel W. P. Carlin moved down from Pilot Knob with 3,000 men and another under Colonel J. B. Plummer moved from Cape Girardeau with 1,500 men intending to trap Thompson between them but Thompson learned of their plans and retreated to Fredericktown. With the Federals in pursuit he was defeated and retreated in wild disorder. Floyd C. Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians, Land of Contrasts and People of Achievement* (Chicago, Lewis, 1943), I, 853.

try to take the place. There was a large force at Island No. 10, just above New Madrid. We fell back and went into camp to wait until the roads settled so we could get some heavy artillery before we commenced the engagement. In about twenty days we were ready and had brought forward one sixty-four pounder and three twenty pounders, besides the field guns. About dark our men drove in the skirmish line and formed a line about 800 yards from the fort. At daybreak the work began. We had an artillery battle the entire day. I was close enough to see into the port holes all day, but not within musket range. We lost very few men. That night it not only rained but poured down. The next morning we marched into the fort, without a shot. We found twenty-three heavy guns. One of our guns had struck one of theirs right in the muzzle. It was moved off of the carriage and the butt driven into the ground several feet. Of course we felt good when the fort was taken.

That night a gunboat ran the blockade at Island No. 10, and came steaming down the river. There was a Rebel fort just across the river from where we were camped. The captain of the boat said he would take it before breakfast and just as the sun was coming over the bank he steamed up right under the edge of the works so close that they could not get their guns to range low enough to hit him. He gave them one broad side after another for about thirty minutes when they surrendered. I was standing on the bank of the river all the time. Then they began ferrying men across the river and also cut off Island No. 10 and captured 5000 prisoners and lots of ammunition. We were under General John Pope and had formed, while at New Madrid, the Ohio Brigade which stayed together until mustered out at the close of the war. It consisted of the 27, 39, 42, and 63 Ohio regiments and always went as the "Bloody Ohio Brigade." Our badge was a red arrow indicating swiftness and certainty in striking.

THE REAL FIGHTING BEGINS

A large force came down the river in a few days and we started with a fleet of twenty-three large Mississippi boats all loaded with men. We were assigned the hurricane deck

of one. We were on board ten days and nights and it rained every day. We had five of the best gunboats on the river. We did not meet with any opposition until we reached a point above Fort Pillow [Tennessee], when they began shelling us with big mortars. The shells looked about the size of a bee-gum. When one would fall and explode you could almost see the bottom. We landed over on the Arkansas side. The next day there was a detail made to go up a small river just above Fort Pillow and try to find a landing place for the army so they could get in the rear of the fort. The country is very flat and the river, which is called Forked River, was high. We failed to find a landing place and when we got back the army had been ordered up the river to reinforce Grant at Pittsburg Landing [Tennessee]. We were the last of the fleet and got there after the battle which was fought on the 6th and 7th of April.⁴ We went up the river a few miles to the next landing and went into camp.

We now began to get ready for the Corinth [Mississippi] campaign. We were on a main road to Corinth and were a long time in getting the army in shape, so did not advance our line until about the middle of May. About the 22, we had a fight at Farmington, about five miles out of Corinth. I was caught out on picket in a very cold rain and had to wade about a quarter of a mile to get out. I was sick a few days and was sent to the Farmington hospital on May 29th. I had a spell of fever and before I was able to be up the doctor had me detailed on duty there. The Rebels evacuated Corinth the first of June and the army stayed in summer quarters and recruited the regiments with new men. I stayed in the hospital (on detail) until fall and went to the general hospital at Corinth. We had about a thousand sick and wounded.

⁴Pittsburg Landing was about twenty-five miles north of the Confederates under Albert Sidney Johnston at Corinth, Mississippi. On April 3, Johnston moved out of Corinth, 50,000 strong, to strike Grant's force, stationed at Pittsburg Landing and on April 6, undetected by Grant, Johnston made a surprise attack. The Union troops were pushed into the river. Grant, who had been absent, returned and with the help of Buell's troops, counter-attacked on April 7 and swept the Confederates from the field. This was called the Battle of Shiloh. James Truslow Adams, ed., *Dictionary of American History* V (New York, Scribner's, 1940), 71.

About the last of September General Price began to close around Corinth. He had a desperate fight eighteen miles east of Corinth. I was over the field after the battle. It was a ridge with a road running directly between the lines of battle. There was an oak tree right in the center of the road with a wagon track on either side. This was just as broad as I am across the shoulders, and there were forty-two bullets in it, below a line as high as my head. I counted eleven men and thirteen horses on a place about sixteen by thirty feet. They still closed up on Corinth, and by the 30th of October [September?] they drove our pickets in on the southwest part of town. We had 1000 sick and wounded that would be in the line of attack so they had to move the hospital before morning.

On the morning of October 4th the battle began.⁵ During the night we had moved the men and supplies about one and a half miles east of town, on a ridge. There we had a fine grove and by the time we had got the last load of supplies out, the skirmishes had begun and we had as good a view of the battle as one could get from any point. Price was three-fourths of the way around Corinth. They made charge after charge on the lines but our men held their lines. Colonel Plummer had a six-gun battery. He told me afterwards, that while they made the charge and fell back, his battery threw 136 shells and every one of them burst before it hit the ground.

By ten o'clock they commenced begging for water. Price had cut off our water supply and the officers said that it was impossible to get water. A few days before I had been out southeast about three miles and found the finest spring I had nearly ever seen. I went to the surgeon in charge, Dr. Gay of Columbus, Ohio, and told him to give me an order for five teams and twenty-five barrels. I got the teams, but they

⁵The Union troops had occupied Corinth after the Battle of Shiloh but on October 3, Van Dorn, the Confederate general, attacked with 20,000 men. The advanced lines of Rosecrans (Union) with about the same number of men were broken and on October 4 the Confederates assaulted his main position. In the ferocious conflict which followed the Confederates actually entered the town but were finally forced to retreat to Holly Springs with a loss of 4838. Rosecrans lost 2520 men. Adams, *op. cit.*, V, 59.

said we would be captured, but we went out there on the lope and were back before noon. That was the best day's work I have ever done. Price commenced falling back about noon and left 1000 wounded to be taken care of. The hospital was a very busy place for some time.

General Rosecrans, who was then in command, was then ordered to reinforce General Grant at, or near, Vicksburg. After he had gotten below Hollow Springs [Holly Springs?], Mississippi, we were ordered to follow with supplies. About December 21, General Van Dorn made a raid with a large cavalry force and captured the force at Hollow Springs, which was paroled and sent to Memphis, Tennessee, and from there started for St. Louis about January. The river was very high and the weather cold. There was about 1300 men aboard. I looked out for some place where I could keep warm and settled on the top of the boiler. I laid a few sticks of cord wood down and stayed on that, living on coffee which I made by pouring hot water in my canteen. We were about ten days getting to St. Louis.

The best meal I have ever eaten was the one I ate the morning we landed. It was at a restaurant. An Illinois man said to me, "Come and let's get breakfast." I told him that I did not have any money and he said he would pay for both. It cost only twenty-five cents but I have never eaten a meal that got so close to me as that one.

We went to Benton Barracks for the third time, stayed a few days and were then sent to Camp Chase, Ohio. When we got to Columbus we stayed all night in the state house. The next morning we started without anything to eat to Camp Chase, a distance of five miles. The snow was just to my knees and nothing had passed since it had fallen. We reported at headquarters and stood around in the snow about an hour, when we were assigned to the second paroled regiment. We reported there and waited another hour when we were assigned to a company. It was then too late to draw rations that day. We remained in camp waiting to be exchanged until the first of July. During that time I went to Governor Todd and got a leave of absence for twenty days

and had a nice visit at home. Once we were called out to go to Chason County to break up a mob that had burned a railroad bridge and had done some other damage. The remainder of the time we tried to kill time.

On the first of July we were ordered to report to our own regiment. We were in Cincinnati when Morgan made his raid through Ohio. We boarded a boat then for Memphis, Tennessee, and found our regiment there doing guard duty around the city. The most of mine was picket duty because that always gave one a chance to get out on the country roads a mile from town. Peaches were ripe and you can't blame any one for helping himself. Our division was left there to bring up the rear of Grant's army which was ordered to Chattanooga to reinforce Thomas. We left Memphis late in the fall. About the third day out the late fall rains commenced. It was very cold and we had neither overcoats nor tents. The worst rain I have ever seen fell when we were near Jacksonville [Jackson, Tennessee?]. I got under a wagon and spent about half the night but the wind blew so cold I could not stand it. I saw a light in the woods about half a mile off and went to it. I found where some one had tried to build a fire but had given it up. I went to work, carried logs, and soon had a good fire. I piled up some brush and had a good sleep. The fire dried the water as fast as it fell. The next day I was very sick and the doctor ordered me to take the train for Corinth. After I got on the train I had the hardest chill I had ever seen anyone have. The conductor got his overcoat and wrapped me up in it. I got into Corinth that evening and went to the tent where they kept supplies. There I found a man who was an old friend. He gave me a good cot with all the blankets I wanted and I did not care whether the regiment ever got there or not.

The fourth day they came up and I started on the march again. That night we camped at Iuka, [Mississippi]. The orders were very strict in regard to foraging, any man caught killing a hog was to be shot. That night when we went into camp and had stacked arms a nice fat barrow stepped out and curled his tail right in our faces. Frank jerked out his bayonet and started after him. The hog ran for headquarters

but Frank caught him within a few feet of the General and cut his throat. He stood there and swore until he had rested a little, then dragged him away but afterwards sent the General a ham. We marched from there to East Port [Mississippi] on the Tennessee River. We had to wait several days before it was our turn to cross. Whitcome, our major was in charge of the transport. There was a ferry boat and one steamboat to take us across. The captain of the steamboat came up to the wharf and the Major ordered him to move farther up the river and give the ferry boat the wharf so we could save time. The Captain looked at the Major and said "Who is that boy?" The Major said "You move or I will pull your old boat out on land," and then said "Boys, take hold of that cable." The old boat began cracking and the Captain said "Hold on, I'll go wherever you want me to," and we had no more trouble.

I was sick and the doctor sent me down the river to Paducah, Kentucky, and I was there about ten days and then went up the Cumberland to Nashville, Tennessee. The great battle of Chickamauga⁶ had been fought and the army had gone into winter quarters in the field. I found our regiment at Brown Mill close to Pulaski [Tennessee].

The government had called for 100,000 veterans and we knew the great campaign was to be made the next spring so thought best to volunteer as veterans and get a thirty day furlough. On the last day of December, 1863, we were mustered out and mustered in for three years or during the war. And in a few days we started for home. We had to march to Nashville. The first day about noon, it commenced to rain and rained very hard. About four in the evening we struck the worst storm I have seen. We were coming without overcoats. We camped out and it was all a fellow could do to keep warm. We arrived in Nashville at night and went aboard a steamer for Louisville but when we got to the Ohio we could not run against the ice so the Captain

⁶September 19-20, 1863, Bragg (C) with 66,000 troops attacked Rosecrans (U) with 58,000. Rosecrans, after giving ill-considered orders, fled from the battlefield to Chattanooga. Adams, *op. cit.*, I, 359.

turned down stream and ran us clear to Cairo. There we got a train for Ogden, Illinois. There we were unloaded on the prairie without overcoats and the snow ten inches deep with the temperature twenty-seven below zero. We stayed there thirty-six hours waiting for a train to take us to Cincinnati and the men got terrible cold but finally we got a train and arrived in the city about seven in the evening. They had a large building on 5th Street and a fine supper and we did it justice. We were three days getting paid off and getting our furlough, then had thirty days at home. The folks thought we had been living hard for so long they tried to kill us with kindness and it was a relief when we got back to camp and got down to regular rations of hard bread and coffee with good bacon.

By the 20th of February we were on the road back to our company. We went into camp on Elk River, Tennessee, and as soon as the roads dried up we moved over on the Tennessee River at Decatur, Alabama. When the army got on the north side of the river we had enough canvas boats to make a pontoon bridge but the Rebels would not let us work so we waited until night then filled the boats with men and rowed them across. The fog was so thick that you could not see twenty feet. We landed and formed our lines and when daylight came advanced and by 10 o'clock we had the town. The weather stayed so bad that we were compelled to wait before the army could move. While here I had a very sick spell. We were quartered in a large brick store and I was compelled to lie on the floor with my knapsack for a pillow. It looked like it would certainly kill me but after some time they sent me to the hospital and by the last of April I was convalescent. The army was ordered to get ready for the spring campaign by the first of May.

(Editor's note: Since the rest of this diary makes no further mention of Missouri, the ensuing campaigns have been summarized in a paragraph. Benjamin Sweet fought through the campaigns of 1864 from Chattanooga, Tennessee, to Atlanta, Georgia, and thence on to the sea with Sherman on his famous march of 1864 and 1865. He describes the

hardships the men went through and the foraging and destruction that went on until finally the South surrendered and the war ended. Some months later Sweet was mustered out, having been in the service three years and eleven months.)

THE MISSOURI READER LEAD MINING IN PIONEER MISSOURI

EDITED BY ADA PARIS KLEIN¹

The Period Prior to 1800

The Austin Period, 1800-1820

Early Method of Mining Lead

Profits from Lead Mining

Mining Expansion

Influence of Early Lead Mining in Missouri

THE PERIOD PRIOR TO 1800

French exploration in the Mississippi Valley reached its peak in the period between 1673 and the mid-eighteenth century. In 1682, La Salle took formal possession of the valley in the name of Louis XIV and the anticipations of the French soared. The hope of finding gold and silver obsessed the French court, adventurers, and traders. After all, hadn't Spain become rich and powerful as a result of her conquest in Mexico and Peru? Why couldn't France have equal success in the Mississippi Valley?

However, the search for gold and silver was not the only reason the French set out for the New World. Some were motivated by the possibilities of wealth from fur trading; others felt the need for exerting a missionary influence; and still others were determined to find a western passage or hoped for glory for self and country. But despite the feverish efforts of the French, the desired silver mines eluded discovery.

Their endeavors, however, were instrumental in the discovery of lead in the northern section of southeastern Missouri, embracing the present counties of Jefferson, Washington, St. Francois, Ste. Genevieve, and Madison, an area of about

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2000 square miles. But the French were not so interested in the possibilities of lead at first. The Jesuit father, James Gravier, expressed the French attitude in a letter written to Father Lamberville on February 16, 1701: "I know not what the Court will decide with reference to the Mississippi, if no silver mines be found there; For they seek not lands to cultivate The mines that have been sought for have not yet been found; but little heed is paid to the lead mines, which are very plentiful toward The Illinois country, and higher up the Mississippi toward the Scioux."²

The fact that lead had value had been earlier realized by the Indians. As early as June, 1700, Le Sueur, a French explorer, had been told by the Indians of a lead mine in Missouri. Although Le Sueur conducted the first so-called mineralogical expedition into Louisiana, he probably never visited the mine mentioned to him by the Indians. It was Lemoine D'Iberville, another Frenchman, who finally became interested in an organized exploitation of the mineral wealth of Missouri. His "petition is the first instance on record of a request for a grant of land with trade and mining privileges within the boundaries of Missouri."³ Unfortunately, this petition was never acted upon, probably because of his untimely death.

A few years later, in return for large loans to the French government in a time of emergency, "Louis XIV, by letter patent, bearing date September 14th, A. D. 1712, granted to Anthony Crozat, Counsellor of State, Secretary of the Household, &c. the exclusive privilege of commerce . . . with the propriety of the mines and minerals he should discover in the country, reserving the fifth part of all bullion of gold and silver, and the one-tenth of the produce of all other mines. The exclusive privilege of commerce was granted for a term of fifteen years; but the propriety of the mines was conveyed in perpetuity to him and his heirs, on the condition that

²*The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*. . . Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, Burrows, 1900), LXV, 173. (Reprinted by permission of the publisher.)

³Floyd C. Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians* (Chicago, Lewis, 1943), I, 132.

such mines and minerals should revert back to the crown of France, whenever the working of them was discontinued for three years together. The bounds of Louisiana, as granted to Crozat, are described in these words:—'Bounded by New Mexico, (on the west,) and by the lands of the English of Carolina, (on the east,) including all the establishments, ports, havens, rivers, and principally the port and haven of the Isle of Dauphine, heretofore called Massaré; the river of St. Louis, heretofore called Mississippi, from the edge of the sea as far as the Illinois, together with the river of St. Philip, heretofore called Ouabache, (Wabash,) with all the countries, territories, lakes within land, and the rivers which fall directly or indirectly into that part of the river of St. Louis.'"⁴

Crozat's party of men, with a governing body consisting of M. Duclos, in charge of ordering supplies; M. Le Bas, comptroller; M. Dirigouin, principal director of Crozat's stores in Louisiana; M. Le Loire des Ursins, intendant for Crozat's affairs on the upper Mississippi; and M. de la Motte, also known as La Motte Cadillac, governor-general of Louisiana,⁵ arrived at Dauphine Island in Mobile Bay, on May 7, 1713. The men arrived brimming with high hopes. It was small wonder that La Motte Cadillac, who had great expectations, gave credence to a story of silver in Kaskaskia. He set out, in 1715, on this wild-geese chase only to meet disappointment. However, on the return trip La Motte discovered what was later the great Mine La Motte region in southeastern Missouri. That was the only time he ever visited it.

In spite of all the able support, Crozat's expedition was doomed to failure. "In the month of August, A. D. 1717, M. Crozat solicited permission to retrocede to the crown his privilege of the exclusive commerce and the mines of Louisiana, which was granted by an arret of the Council of State, during the minority of Louis XV. In the same month, letters patent were granted by the Council of the Regency to an association of individuals at Paris, under the name of the

⁴Henry R. Schoolcraft, *A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri* (New York, Wiley, 1819), pp. 10-11.

⁵Shoemaker, *op. cit.*, I, 133.

Company of the West, by which they were invested with the exclusive privilege of the commerce of Louisiana, and the working of the mines, to the same extent as it was enjoyed under the grant of Crozat. These letters patent were dated on the 23rd of August, A. D. 1717, registered 6th September, of the same year, and were to be in force on the first of January, 1718, and to continue for a period of 25 years. By them, not only such grants and privileges were conveyed as had previously been enjoyed by Crozat, but they were invested with additional powers, rights, and privileges."⁶

The Company of the West followed the same procedure as the Crozat expedition. The pursuit of gold and silver was the primary objective. Credence was given to the most fantastic utterances, stimulating many wildgoose chases. "If anything had been wanting to accelerate the pace of adventurers, or to fan the ardour of hope, it was the genius, the financial abilities, and the commanding influence of M. Law, who was placed at the head of the Company, and was the moving power in every transaction."⁷ In this way the exploitation of Missouri's natural resources became a part of Law's great "Mississippi bubble."

The intriguing romance of the possibility of precious metals to be had still persisted in spite of all the failures. Philip Francis Renault, a French agent of a subsidiary of the Company of the West, was one of the early adventurers who came to New Orleans in 1720 and soon after that to the upper country of Louisiana and Illinois and was given grants of land there by the French officers at Fort de Chartres, Boishabrant and Ursins "These grants bear date June 14th, A. D. 1723, cover the Mine La Motte, and some other very valuable tracts, which after laid dormant for a period of about sixty years, have recently been claimed by the representatives of his heirs at law."⁸ Renault discovered many extensive mines north of Potosi. ". . . A proof of the diligence with which Renault prosecuted the object, is fur-

⁶Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 17.

nished by the number and extent of the old diggings which are now found in various parts of the country"⁹

When Renault did not find gold and silver he evidently concluded that the wealth of Missouri was in lead, for he directed all of his efforts thenceforth to the smelting of lead "and there is reason to conclude that very great quantities were made."¹⁰

The matter of transporting the lead to the Mississippi was a serious one. It became necessary to find an easily accessible spot on the Mississippi from which to convey the lead to New Orleans and thence to France. A lead depot probably grew up on the site of what is now Ste. Genevieve. With the site on the Mississippi chosen, it then became necessary to find a simple means of transporting the crude lead to the site. An ingenious device was said to have been designed whereby the soft lead was molded into collars for the pack-mules or horses. Indian trails became the first roads from the interior, where the mines were located, to the depots on the river front.¹¹

Renault's earnest endeavors were soon swallowed up in a tide of misfortune however. The king of France had united the Company of the West with the East India and Chinese company under the title of the Company Royal of the Indies. "[This] Company of the Indies had found, as had Crozat, that Louisiana was an unprofitable investment; accordingly its members now preferred to cut down their expenses there in order to invest their money in trading in other parts of the world. When Boisbriant was acting governor of the province, this policy of restriction began to be painfully felt. The garrisons everywhere were ordered to be reduced; then the amount of merchandise to be shipped to the north was strictly limited; risks of financial loss in boats and goods from Indian attacks were to be reduced to a minimum. If the Illinois people wished to buy, they should come to New Orleans."

⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 14-16.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹Shoemaker, *op. cit.*, I, 137.

However, ". . . Renault was already beginning to see the day of profits on his investments. On February 27, 1725, he owed the company 140,000 livres besides the price of twenty-five Negroes sent him each year. He had, however, built a furnace and was taking out fifteen hundred pounds of lead a day and by another year expected to mine all the lead the company could consume. He now asked for a guard for his mines. He had built for himself a stone house—the first one in the country—and was looking forward to a prosperous business. By September of 1725, however, he was forced to complain that his credit had been cut off and that the continuance of the Fox war made it impossible to work at his mines."¹² In 1731 the Company of the Indies, despairing of finding immense wealth, retroceded the territory to the French court, with the exception of Renault's grants of land. Thus ended the unfortunate "Mississippi scheme."

"Renault, however, remained in Illinois several years after the explosion of the Mississippi scheme, and did not return to his native country until A. D. 1742. With him the greater part of his workmen returned; the slaves were sold, and the mining business fell into neglect. Here is a period to the first attempt at mining in Louisiana."¹³

The French had gambled and lost in the chase for gold and silver. What were the plans of the Spanish for upper Louisiana? When the Spanish came into possession in 1770, Upper Louisiana was very sparsely settled. A few temporary mining settlements had mushroomed up around some of the mining regions, but Ste. Genevieve or the Illinois country across the Mississippi was "home" to the miners.

While the Spanish were attempting to settle and develop the Louisiana Territory, the English were expanding also. Eyeing with some apprehension the influx into the Mississippi Valley of the English from Canada, the Spanish began inviting immigration from the United States, offering as an inducement free, tax-exempt lands, including the mineral lands.

¹²Clarence W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818* (Springfield, Ill., Illinois Centennial Commission, 1920) (*The Centennial History of Illinois Series*, Vol. I), pp. 158-159.

¹³Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

Records in the district of Ste. Genevieve show that the production rose from 60,025 pounds of lead in 1772 to 430,080 pounds in 1800. These reports are not all-conclusive since they include only the lead which was transported from the mines in the interior to Ste. Genevieve and then shipped by water to New Orleans. Production must have been actually higher because the records do not show the amount for domestic consumption.¹⁴

"The principal discovery made under the Spanish authority was Mine à Burton,¹⁵ which takes its name from a person of the name of Burton, who being out on a hunt in that quarter found the ore lying on the surface of the ground The period of this discovery it would be very difficult now to ascertain, Burton himself being unable to fix it. It has been known about *forty years*." [Schoolcraft wrote this in 1819.]

The crude methods of mining, however, produced only about fifty percent lead from the ore. The disappointment of the Spanish in the amount of lead produced is reflected in a report written by the Spanish governor, Francisco Cruzat, 1776. He wrote "that the mines no longer produce more lead than is used annually" ¹⁶

THE AUSTIN PERIOD, 1800-1820

Impelled by the desire of possessing his own mining lands, Moses Austin migrated from the lead mines in Wythe County, Virginia, to Mine à Burton in Upper Louisiana [Missouri] in 1797. Austin was to become the dominant figure of the time in the lead industry, and probably added more to the wealth of Missouri than anyone else at that time, with the exception perhaps of some of the larger fur dealers. Austin " obtained a grant of land of one league square, from the Spanish authorities, in consideration of

¹⁴Shoemaker, *op. cit.*, I, 138.

¹⁵Mine à Burton is the anglicized version of Mine à Breton. Francois Azor, alias Breton, was the discoverer. It is about thirty-eight miles west, northwest of Ste. Genevieve, near present-day Potosi. See Shoemaker, *op. cit.*, I, 139; Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁶Louis Houck, *Spanish Regime in Missouri* (Chicago, Donnelley, 1919), I, 103. (Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.)

erecting a reverberatory furnace, and other works, for prosecuting the mining business at those mines. This he commenced A. D. 1798, and previous to that time no furnace for smelting the *ashes of lead*, made in the Log Furnace, had been erected. Mr. Austin sunk the first regular shaft for raising the ore, and introduced some other improvements which were found beneficial."¹⁷

Austin, in a report entitled *A Summary Description of the Lead Mines in Upper Louisiana*, wrote:

"The greatest part of the workings at the Mine à Burton, are in an open prairie which rises nearly a hundred feet above the level of the creek.—The mines may be said to extend over two thousand acres of land; but the principal workings are within the limits of one hundred and sixty acres, and perhaps no part of the world furnishes lead ore in greater quantities and purity. The mineral is found within two feet of the surface of the earth, and it is seldom the miners dig deeper than ten feet, not that the mineral discontinues, but because they find it troublesome to raise out of the ground; the French miners being unacquainted with the utility of machinery, and generally are able to procure in plenty nearer the surface.

"The manner in which the mines have been wrought, renders it impossible to determine whether the material terminates in regular veins or not; for when the miner finds himself ten or twelve feet below the surface, his inexperience obliges him to quit his digging and begin anew, notwithstanding the appearance of mineral may be good. Thus one half of his time is taken up in sinking new holes or pits.

"The mineral is of two qualities, gravel and fossil mineral. The gravel mineral is found immediately under the soil, intermixed with gravel in pieces from 1 to 50 pounds weight of solid mineral . . . but mineral of the first quality is found in a bed of red clay under the sand rock, in pieces from ten to five hundred pounds weight, on the outside of which is a white, gold or silver coloured spar or fossil, of a bright glittering appearance, as solid as the mineral itself and in weight as three to two; this being taken off, the mineral

¹⁷Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

is solid, unconnected with any other substance; of a broad grain, and what mineralogists call potter-ore.—When it is smelted in a common smelting furnace, it produces sixty per cent, and when again smelted in a slag furnace, produces fifteen per cent. more, making cleanly smelted, seventy-five per cent.—The gravel mineral is incrustated with a dead grey substance, the eight of an inch in thickness—has small veins of sulphur through it, and will not produce more than sixty per cent. when cleanly smelted.

"When I first knew the Mine à Burton in the year 1797, the French smelted their mineral in stone furnaces, somewhat similar to lime-kilns.—At the bottom they put a floor of the largest logs to be found, setting smaller ones round the sides of the furnace. In a furnace thus arranged, is put from three to five thousand pounds weight of mineral; and a fire being lighted under the bottom of the furnace, is kept up until the mineral is entirely smelted, burnt or lost in the ashes. In this way each miner smelted his own mineral, extracting about three hundred and fifty pounds of lead from each thousand pounds weight of mineral. But since my works have been established, they found it more advantageous to sell their mineral than to smelt it themselves."¹⁸

So successful was Austin's new reverberatory furnace that by 1802 all but one of the French furnaces had been discarded. In 1798 there were twenty French furnaces, but in 1802 only one was in use.

EARLY METHOD OF MINING LEAD

Lead mining was more or less a haphazard affair. Brackenridge commented in 1814:

"The mode of working the mines is exceedingly simple. The word *diggings*, by which they are known, very well designates the appearance of these places; pits and heaps of clay thrown out of them, covering sometimes fifty acres or more.—With two or three exceptions, there is scarcely

¹⁸Moses Austin, *A Summary Description of the Lead Mines in Upper Louisiana* . . . (n.p., 1804), Issued as "Document No. III, Accompanying a Message from the President of the United States, Nov. 8, 1804," pp. 8-9.

any place which might be termed mining. There is but one shaft, which is at the Mine à Burton, and sunk by Moses Austin. The miners usually work them upon their own account, and dispose of their ore to the smelters: there are some, however, who hire hands by the month, or employ slaves. But experience has shown that it is best for the interests of both the digger and the smelter to pursue the first mode; from the chance to the one of falling upon a good body of ore, and to the other of the general uncertainty; the keeping a number of persons in constant pay for a length of time before he would be remunerated by a profitable discovery The miners have a variety of rules amongst themselves, to prevent disputes in diggings. Each one takes a pole, and measures off twelve feet in every direction from the edge; the pits seldom exceed eight or ten feet in diameter. He is not permitted to undermine farther than his twelve feet, but must dig a new pit if the ground be not occupied. The only instruments are a pick, wooden shovel, and a sledge hammer, to break rocks. The ore delivered at the pit, sells from twenty to twenty-five dollars per thousand lbs. A digger will sometimes raise two thousand in one day, but notwithstanding, these people do not grow rich faster than their neighbours. What is easily earned is carelessly spent; and besides, it often happens that the miner will work for months without making a cent, before he has the luck of lighting on this treasure."¹⁹

"Notwithstanding this singular and awkward process, the manufacturers are satisfied with the profits it yields them, and consider a machinery as an injury rather than a benefit."²⁰

There were other mines being worked under the Spanish government. The principal mines, outside of the Mine à Burton, were: Mine La Motte, at the head of St. Francis River; Mine à Joe, on Flat River; and Old Mines, on a branch of Mineral Fork or Fouche Arno.

¹⁹H. M. Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana; Together with a Journal of a Voyage up the Missouri River, in 1811* (Pittsburgh, Cramer, Spear and Elchbaum, 1814), pp. 148-149.

²⁰Amos Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana* (Philadelphia, Carey, 1812), p. 395.

With the turn of the nineteenth century and United States occupancy, two other big mines were discovered. They were the Mine à Robino and Mine à Martin.

The lead mining industry was gaining in importance. Austin wrote: ". . . the time cannot be far distant, when this country will furnish lead sufficient, not only for the consumption of the United States, but all Europe, if moderate encouragement is given by government" ²¹

Austin was rapidly forging ahead in his mining enterprise. Recognizing the need for a nearer depot for his lead products, he developed a road from Mine à Burton to the mouth of the Joachim Creek, about thirty miles south of St. Louis. This was later to become the site of Herculaneum which came into being in the first decade of the eighteenth century.

INNOVATIONS FOR LEAD RECOVERY

Brackenridge wrote in 1814 that: "The careless mode of smelting in use proves the great abundance of the ore. There is but one regular furnace, the rest are of a temporary and simple construction. The most common are built on the declivity of some hill, with stones, open at the top, and with an arch below. Three large logs about four feet wide, so as to fit the furnace, are rolled in, smaller pieces of wood placed round, and the ore then heaped up in large lumps: fire is set to it in the evening, and by the next morning there will be a sufficient quantity of the melted lead in the little reservoir or hole, scratched in the earth before the arch, to commence the operation of pouring it into moulds to form pigs. There are usually several of these furnaces joined together. About six thousand lbs. of ore are put into each, and the first smelting produces 50 per cent, besides leaving a quantity of scori or scorched ore. The ashes, which contain particles of ore and scori, are washed, and smelted in a furnace of a different construction, and often yield twenty-five or thirty per cent more. The ore smelted in this rude way, may be safely considered as yielding seventy-five per cent. There remains a dark green substance called slag, which on late examina-

²¹Austin, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

tion, is thought still to retain a proportion of lead worth pursuing. There is no process of pounding or washing, except at the air furnace. The three modes of smelting, to wit, the *open furnace*, the *ash furnace*, and the air furnace, (belonging to Mr. Austin,) have all been introduced since the Americans took possession of the country. The creoles never smelted any other way than by throwing the lead on log heaps. Each of the diggings has its smelting furnace, and the ore is smelted on the spot. The business of smelting is considered unhealthy, but that of mining remarkably the reverse. This unhealthiness arises from the fumes of the furnace, in which there are quantities of arsenic and sulphur."²²

Ever seeking new means of obtaining optimum lead recovery from the furnace, new types of furnaces were designed. One of the by-products of the log furnace was a kind of slag which was called *lead-ashes*. An ash furnace was, therefore, designed in order to recover the lead which had dropped to the bottom of the log furnace as waste. "The situation for an ash furnace is always chose on the declivity of a hill, The inside work, or lining, consists of slabs of hewn limestone, laid in clay-mortar, and backed by solid masonry. Although a stone less adapted for furnaces could hardly be found, yet it is made here to answer the purpose, and is an evidence of the ingenuity of men in making a bad material answer when a good one cannot be found. . . .

"Limestone is a combination of the pure earth *lime* with *carbonic acid* and *water*; it is a *carbonat of lime*. When subjected to a red heat, it parts with its carbonic acid and water, and if the operation be continued long enough, is converted into quicklime. . . .

"Nevertheless, although this calcination is constantly and slowly progressing, an ash furnace will last from 15 to 20 days, according to the skill which has been displayed in its construction, and the particular quality of the stone employed

"An ash furnace, built of limestone, is estimated to cost \$100. This includes every expense, and such a furnace lasts

²²Brackenridge, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

during one blast, say 15 or 20 days; perhaps with great care it will run a month; and during this time from 60 to 90,000 lbs. of lead ought to be made."²³

PROFITS FROM LEAD MINING

The manufacture of lead reached an era of unusual prosperity during the first twenty years of the nineteenth century. This was due not only to the demand of markets in New Orleans and Pittsburgh, which was greatly increased by the War of 1812, but also to the heavy demand from markets abroad, which was stimulated by the Napoleonic wars. Major Amos Stoddard wrote:

"Lead, while the European war lasts, will command a high price; and Upper-Louisiana probably contains in its bosom a quantity, adequate to the consumption of all the belligerent powers in christendom. To those unacquainted with that country, this may seem an exaggeration; but when they are told that the banks and beds of some of the small rivers present to the traveller large masses of mineral lead, and that extensive tracts of country exhibit it in plenty, they will not presume to set bounds to the quantity

"The mines in this quarter supply several Indian tribes, as also the extensive settlements on both sides of the Mississippi, and those on the Ohio and its waters. In addition to this, large quantities of lead are sent to New-Orleans and Pittsburgh, where part of it is consumed; the remainder finds its way to the Atlantic and European markets."²⁴

The different uses for the various kinds of lead stimulated the specialization of manufacture. The first red lead manufactured west of the Mississippi was produced on November 15, 1812, by Henderson, who worked in partnership with a St. Louis merchant named Christian Wilt. Their produce eventually went to the glassmakers and potters of Pittsburgh.

The first white lead in Missouri Territory was manufactured in March, 1813, at St. Louis.²⁵

²³Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-103.

²⁴Stoddard, *op. cit.*, pp. 397-398.

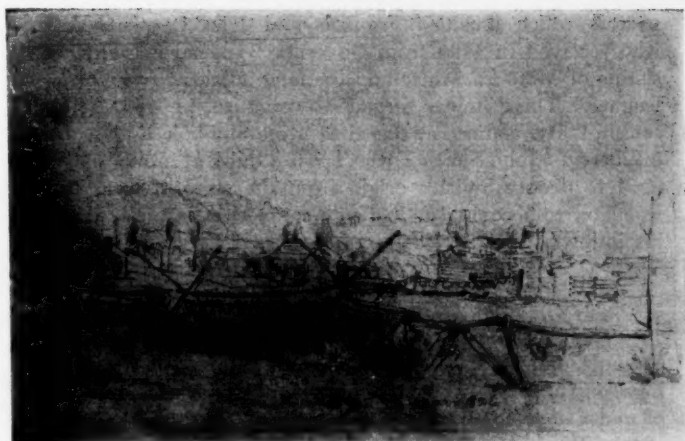
²⁵Shoemaker, *op. cit.*, I, 142.

In 1809, J. N. Maclot erected what is considered to be the first shot tower west of Pittsburgh at Herculanum. The spring of the following year, Austin also built one in the same town, employing forty to fifty men. Schoolcraft, in 1819, gives this description of the shot tower:

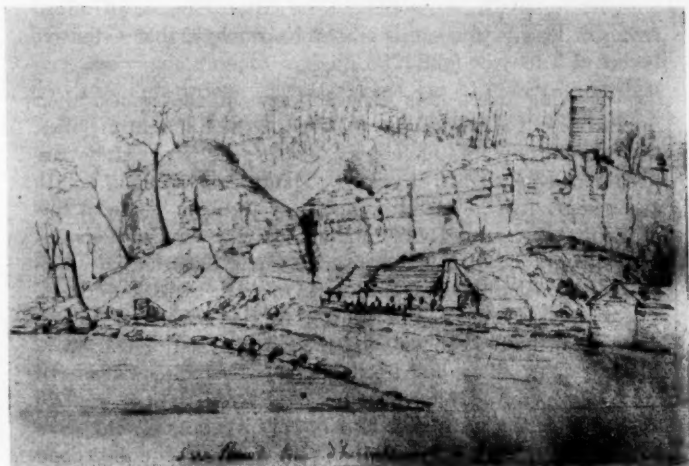
"A considerable proportion of the lead made in this (Missouri) Territory is manufactured into shot. There are 3 shot towers in the vicinity of Herculanum, where shot is made by letting it fall down the banks of the Mississippi. The banks at this place consist of limestone, which forms a perpendicular bluff of about 100 feet immediately at the water's edge both above and below the town. On this bluff a small wooden tower is erected, with a furnace and kettles for preparing, smelting, and casting the lead, and having a projection in front, from which the lead is dropped into a receptacle with water below, where there is another building and apparatus for glazing and polishing. The lead, previous to being dropped, is prepared by mixing with it a small quantity of arsenic, which renders it more fluid in casting, and increases its hardness when cold. It is melted in an iron pot in the upper part of the tower, and poured into a copper sieve, made by perforating a copper pan full of holes, of the size of the shot, through which the globules of fluid lead drop into the cistern below. By the time they reach the water they have become sufficiently cool to preserve their globular shapes. Shot of the largest size require to be dropped from the greatest height, say 140 feet, while the small sizes are only suffered to fall about 90 feet. One man will smelt and cast, after the lead is prepared by alloying it with arsenic, from 4 to 5,000 lbs. per day. To polish these will occupy him 9 days. The polishing is done by putting a quantity of shot into a hollow cylindrical wooden vessel or barrel, which is fixed on a shaft and turned by a crank. The action of the shot against each other, converts them into perfect spheres, and a little plumbago which is added gives them a gloss, in which state they are ready for market."²⁶

Many people were interested in the exploitation of the lead mines. Besides Moses Austin, there were other pros-

²⁶Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-139



A view of "Iamotte village 22 Mars 1826." Sketched by Charles Alexander Lesueur during a trip to Missouri in 1826. This sketch and the one below were photographed in 1938 by Charles E. Peterson, regional architect with the National Park Service.



"S. W. Shoot tour d'herculaneum au deport." Sketched by Charles Alexander Lesueur in 1826.

pectors which included Francois and Jean Baptiste Vallé, who received in 1796 from Governor Trudeau a grant consisting of Mine La Motte and the land adjacent to it for two leagues. These mines began to produce in 1800. John Smith T also claimed at this time Mine Shibboleth and Mine à Liberty. John Smith T [the T was a quirk of individualism, used to denote Smith's origin from the state of Tennessee] was later to become Austin's arch-competitor in the lead mining industry.²⁷

MINING EXPANSION

"The first lead ore was discovered by Philip Francis Renault, and M. La Motte, acting under the authority of the *Company of the West*, about the year 1720; . . . The number of mines now [1819] worked, is forty-five, *thirty-nine* of which are in Washington county, *three* in St. Genevieve, *one* in Madison, and *two* in Jefferson . . .

"Other mines of lead are also situated in different parts of the Territory, but have not been explored. The Osage, Gasconade, Black, Strawberry, and Mine Rivers, all afford traces of lead, and there is reason to conclude that extensive bodies of it may be found."²⁸

"Having taken this general view, of the mines, their produce, &c. I shall proceed to describe the different *diggings*, more minutely. I have . . . observed, that they are scattered over a tract of country about sixty miles in length and twenty-five in breadth, many of those in vogue a few years ago, are now [1814] abandoned, for new discoveries. The appearance of the diggings . . . is like that of small villages, consisting of a collection of little cabins or huts. The distance from Mine la Motte, to the Richwood mines, the one on the St. Francis, and the other near the Maramek, is about sixty miles; and from Fourche Courtois, west of the Mine à Burton (which I have considered as the centre) to the mines nearest the Mississippi, is about twenty-five miles. There is no doubt but that mines equally good

²⁷Shoemaker, *op. cit.*, I, 140.

²⁸Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, pp. 167, 168.

as any that are wrought may be found out of this tract in every direction; even within a few miles of the Mississippi. Not more than four miles from that river between col Hammond's farm and Herculaneum, I picked up in the road, a large lump of ore, which had been washed out by rain a short time before.

"[Mine à Burton] is situated on a handsome stream, a branch of Big river, and large enough to turn a mill the whole year. The village, which is much superior to those which are formed near the diggings, is built on either side of it. The diggings extend around it in every direction, but the principal, which are called the Citadel Diggings, are immediately west, on a high prairie. They occupy about two hundred acres. The surface of the ground has been tolerably well searched; and very great quantities of lead, from the first discovery of this place to the present time, have been made; it will now be necessary to sink into the bowels of the earth before much more can be done: this place has been abandoned by the common diggers

"The situation of this village is pleasant, there are some handsome dwellings; the inhabitants, about twenty families, turn their attention to agriculture. The surrounding country, although broken in many parts, yet affords a great deal of fine land; the soil, as is general throughout the mine tract, is of a deep red, and supposed to be principally produced by the decomposition of pyrites, which are known to be a manure

"*New Diggings*, about two miles east of the Mine à Burton; they were opened about the year 1806; and from the fame which they acquired, drew the miners from nearly all the other mines. It is thought, that during the year, in which these were worked, more lead was made, than has been since, in any one year throughout the mines. For two or three years past, until the present season, these diggings were almost neglected. They are now wrought by several gentlemen with hired hands and slaves. They work in a few pits that had already been sunk to a considerable depth, but had been relinquished on account of the water; this difficulty has been obviated by machinery.—

"*Elliott's Diggings, Old Mines, and the mines of Belle Fontaine*, may be considered under the same head: in half a day one may easily visit them all. Elliott's diggings have been worked for several years, by the proprietors, and to advantage These mines are from six to twelve miles from the Mine à Burton. *Brown Diggings* are the most noted of those near Belle Fontaine. In the course of the year before last, little short of one million lbs. of lead were smelted here. A considerable quantity is still made, and the appearance of the diggings are flattering. They are situated within a short distance of Big river: and about twenty-five miles from Herculanum.

"*Bryan's Diggings*, a few miles east of Big river. It is about eighteen months since these were discovered; but there has been more lead made than at any other place of the district, in the course of the present year. They are situated twenty-five miles from Ste. Genevieve, and twenty from Herculanum.

"*Richwood Mines*, are situated about twenty miles N. E. of the Mine à Burton; they are said to be productive.

"*Mine a Joe*, on Big river, higher up than Bryan's Diggings, and somewhat further from St. Genevieve. . . .

"*Mine a la Motte*, four miles from the St. Francis, and on a small stream which falls into that river; it is one of the oldest, and has been constantly wrought for many years, and produces a considerable quantity even on the present mode of mining.—The distance is about thirty miles from St. Genevieve. There is a handsome little village; . . .

"The Big river, Terre Bleu, and the Mineral Fork, are considered streams which meander through the mine tract. . . . The mine tract generally, a thing somewhat unusual in mineral countries, is well adapted to agriculture. No country can be more plentifully watered, possessing in a great abundance the most delightful fountains and rivulets."²⁹

INFLUENCE OF EARLY LEAD MINING IN MISSOURI

"It is not more than three or four years since the settlements through this country commenced. The Spanish

²⁹Brackenridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-153.

government held out encouragements to American settlers, and I have been informed that about the years 1801-2, emigration was beginning to flow in rapidly: it is probable that in a few years, unless restrained by government, there would have been a considerable population. The farmers in the mine country, will have the advantage of a ready market near them for their produce, and in the winter season, when their farms do not require attention, they will find a profitable employment in transporting the lead to the towns, for the purpose of being shipped."³⁰

As a direct result of the lead mining industry, important settlements came into being. "The principal towns in the district of the Lead mines are, St. Genevieve, Herculaneum, Potosi, and Mine à Burton [Potosi and Mine à Burton later were incorporated under the name of Potosi] and St. Michael."³¹

Because of the disorganized manner of awarding land grants, the United States land office had to revise its system of confirming landgrants. Stoddard reflected the attitude of the miners: "But when mineral lead is found scattered here and there over the surface of an extensive territory, and also deposited in the bowels of the earth, at all times easy of access, it appears impossible to secure an exclusive privilege. If the people be prohibited from taking it in one or more places, they will resort to others. All the troops in service would not be able to guard this treasure; and those disposed to purloin it, would laugh at legal restraints. Some of the mines, indeed, are private property; but the number and extent of these bear no proportion to those included in the public domain. The discoverer of a mine, under the Spanish government, was entitled to a grant of land of sufficient extent to embrace it; or he was at liberty to occupy and work it, provided he rendered one tenth of the produce to the crown."³²

The lead mines influenced the development of Missouri in other ways. In the working of these lead mines, slavery was introduced by De Lochon and Renault, and nearly a century

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 154.

³¹Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

³²Stoddard, *op. cit.*, pp. 398-399.

later Schoolcraft wrote that: "Many of the plantations and mines are worked by slaves, and among them are to be found blacksmiths and carpenters, whose services are extremely valuable to their masters. The introduction of slavery into this section of the western country, appears to have taken place at an early day, and it has led to a state of society which is calculated to require their continued assistance."¹³³

The lead industry led to an expansion of trade. A kind of bartering was utilized whereby the lead exporter secured his lead in exchange for goods or other articles, and then shipped it to the East, and received goods in payment. Missouri's lead and shot found outlets in markets in the eastern cities of the United States and in Europe. It has been said that Missouri shot, used in the Battle of New Orleans in the War of 1812, has been used in every war in which the United States has participated from its fight for independence to the World War. Furthermore, it is one of the few industries in Missouri which has perpetuated itself since its origin.

¹³³Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

MEMBERS ACTIVE IN INCREASING SOCIETY'S MEMBERSHIP

During the three months from November, 1948, through January, 1949, the following members of the Society increased its membership as indicated:

TWENTY-EIGHT NEW MEMBERS

Suttle, Harry L., Springfield

TWENTY-ONE NEW MEMBERS

Henschke, John H., St. Louis

NINETEEN NEW MEMBERS

Dyer, Clyde P., Webster Groves

TWELVE NEW MEMBERS

Gerber, Mrs. L. V., Wichita, Kansas

ELEVEN NEW MEMBERS

Becker, Mrs. F. C., St. Charles

TEN NEW MEMBERS

Hicks, John Edward, Kansas City

Honig, L. O., Kansas City

EIGHT NEW MEMBERS

McPheeters, Thomas S., St. Louis

SEVEN NEW MEMBERS

Redmond, S. R., St. Louis

Soper, H. W., St. Louis

SIX NEW MEMBERS

Page, Walter F., Kansas City

FIVE NEW MEMBERS

Bauer, Roland R., St. Louis

Lowrance, William H., Kansas City

Forney, Chester G., Jefferson City

Swain, E. E., Kirksville

FOUR NEW MEMBERS

Cole, Redmond S., Tulsa, Oklahoma	Thompson, Mrs. J. Frank, Columbia
Fitzgerald, R. L., Kansas City	Watters, T. Ballard, Marshfield
Jennings, Emery E., St. Joseph	Williams, Robert H., Webster Groves
Kelly, Clement T., St. Louis	
Opie, John T., Kansas City	

THREE NEW MEMBERS

Acuff, John H., Jefferson City	Peacher, Roy, Springfield
Bumbarger, J. V., Memphis	Phillips, Alroy S., St. Louis
Clark, Albert M., Jefferson City	Rowland, Mrs. C. K., St. Louis
Crisler, Robert M., St. Louis	
Motley, Mrs. Robert L., Bowling Green	

TWO NEW MEMBERS

Amos, James R., Springfield	Mott, Frank L., Columbia
Bacon, George F., Kirkwood	Myers, Mrs. W. C., Webb City
Chambliss, Emma B., Louisville, Kentucky	Pigg, E. L., Jefferson City
Dawson, Mrs. Lela May, Excelsior Springs	Powell, Lola H., Mexico
Evans, Mrs. C. A., Chicago, Illinois	Richardson, Harry E., St. Louis
Ford, P. C., Independence	Robinett, P. M., Washington, D. C.
Harrison, Mrs. Charles L., St. Louis	Selvidge, B. H., Poplar Bluff
Harrison, W. H., Gallatin	Skelcher, William, Biloxi, Mississippi
Kocian, Arthur A., St. Louis	Spies, Dan H., Columbia
Loomis, Mrs. W. H., Jr., Kansas City	Vincent, Mary I., Springfield
McReynolds, Allen, Carthage	Walton, Edward I., Trenton
Maloney, John C., Kansas City	Williams, S. C., Kansas City
	Willson, Jacob G., Denver, Colorado

ONE NEW MEMBER

Adams, T. C., Sheridan, Illinois	Bey, Albert, Perryville
Alison, Milton, San Jose, California	Bishop, Erma R., South Greenfield
Balsiger, E. J., Kansas City	Black, Mrs. Emmett, Rivermines
Barrett, Jesse W., St. Louis	Blair, V. P., St. Louis
Bartels, John S., St. Louis	Bohrer, Everett L., Kansas City
Bartholomew, Harland, St. Louis	Bourneuf, Leo W., St. Louis
Bassman, Fred, Jefferson City	Bowdry, Mrs. W. P., Fort Worth, Texas
Bear, J. L., St. Joseph	Bowen, L. Roy, St. Louis
Benson, Ed B., Kansas City	Bowles, Mrs. K. C., Alameda, California
Berninghaus, Oscar E., Taos, New Mexico	

- Brennecke, C. J., Jackson
 Brooks, Louis J., Jr., St. Louis
 Brown, Mrs. Eva L., Edina
 Bube, E. W., Richmond Heights
 Burcham, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph R.,
 Glendale
 Burke, Floyd, Kansas City
 Burton, O. D., Kansas City
 Cady, Theodore S., Kansas City
 Camp, E. E., Monett
 Campuzano, T., Marshall
 Carder, M. L., St. Joseph
 Carter, Mrs. Nelson T., Mexico
 Carver, Paul E., Neosho
 Castlen, Harry W., University City
 Chittenden, Mrs. Earle P., Jefferson
 City
 Conlan, R. S., Kansas City
 Connor, Robert W., Hannibal
 Conrad, Oscar J., Webster Groves
 Coon, Walter A., Springfield
 Corrigan, W. S., Sikeston
 Covert, C. E., Houston
 Crews, Gideon, Holland
 Crouse, Emmett J., St. Joseph
 Culbertson, Margaret M., Perry
 Davenport, Obie F., Mercer
 Davis, H. B., Eldorado Springs
 DeArmond, Fred, Willard
 DeGaris, Charles F., Oklahoma
 City, Oklahoma
 Deming, F. K., St. Louis
 Doughty, Mrs. J. M., Strafford
 Douglass, Mrs. Viola B., Chicago,
 Illinois
 Dryden, Isabella M., St. Louis
 Duncan, James H., Savannah
 Dunnington, G. Waldo, Natchi-
 toches, Louisiana
 Dunklin Democrat, Kennett
 Eastin, Robert, St. Joseph
 Eaton, Hyden J., Kansas City
 Ecker, P. J., Kansas City, Kansas
 Edinger, Henry I., St. Louis
 Eggemann, Hubert J., Jefferson
 City
 Elmore, C. E., Houston
 Engel, Mrs. Laura M., Hickman
 Mills
 Fallert, Herbert J., Ste. Genevieve
 Finney, Carl, St. Louis
 Fiske, George, Kansas City
 Fox, A. P., St. Louis
 Fradenburg, Barney, Kansas City
 Frank, Harry K., St. Louis
 Getz, Mrs. Alma L. B., St. Louis
 Gilliland, Samuel A., Kansas City
 Gillum, Wade W., Lee's Summit
 Grimm, J. Hugo, St. Louis
 Gow, Tevis, Kearney
 Hall, Mrs. Elizabeth, Festus
 Hall, Homer, St. Louis
 Hallock, E. O., Kansas City
 Hanni, Otto, Troy
 Hannibal High School, Hannibal
 Harper, Mrs. J. Ernest, Sikeston
 Harris, William W., San Francisco,
 California
 Harriman, Fred L., St. Louis
 Hawkins, Mrs. Arthur, Nevada
 Haynes, W. Sims, Moberly
 Henderson, Paul, Bridgeport,
 Nebraska
 Herget, John F., Cincinnati, Ohio
 Herzog, Joseph F., Ste. Genevieve
 Hester, H. I., Liberty
 Hill, Mrs. John K., Kansas City,
 Kansas
 Hobbs, Mrs. John, Jefferson City
 Hollenbeck, Arch, West Plains
 Hudson, C. A., Phoenix, Arizona
 Hudson, G. R., Kirksville
 Ihrig, J. Arthur, Hannibal
 Jackson, Joseph, Maryville
 Jaekel, Reinhold C., Kansas City
 Jayne, E. M., Kirksville
 Jensen, Mrs. Walter, Eolia
 Jhmelmeng, R. D., Marshfield
 Jones, Charles J., Pierce City
 Jones, Robert N., St. Louis
 Jones, Mrs. Walter C., St. Louis
 Jordan, Charles N., Webster
 Groves
 Jurgens, Ella M., St. Louis

- Kennedy, M. G., Henrietta
 Koppenbrink, Jesse E., Marshall
 Lamkin, Uel W., Maryville
 Lee, Charles E., Doniphan
 Lee, S. W., Savannah
 Leedy, C. A., Jr., Jefferson City
 Leffler, Otto F., St. Louis
 Long, Charles D., St. Louis
 Livengood, L. L., Maryville
 Lyles, E. K., Houston
 Lyster, Mrs. A. F., Kansas City
 McDaniel, Mrs. Lex, Kansas City
 McDonald, W. E., Glendale, California
 McGee, H. H., Webster Groves
 Matteson, Joseph S., Grant City
 Meinershagen, A. H., Higginsville
 Meriwether, Charles L., Jr., Louisiana
 Mermond, Mrs. J. Fred, Monett
 Moreland, Arthur C., Warrensburg
 Morgan, Corwin F., Olathe, Kansas
 Morgan, Don H., Champaign, Illinois
 Morris, Mrs. J. Paul, Warrensburg
 Mundwiler, Orlando A., Hermann
 Neale, Ben M., Springfield
 Noah, W. L., Webster Groves
 Norton, Mrs. Voris R., New London
 Oakes, Mrs. G. W., Crystal City
 O'Herin, Edward F., Rock Hill
 Oldendorf, A. W., University City
 Owen, L. C., Kansas City
 Parry, Mary Banks, Columbia
 Paulsell, Mrs. C. O., Potosi
 Payne, David, Fulton
 Perry, Mrs. Lena H., Morse Mill
 Peters, Mrs. Frank L., Springfield
 Phillips, Richard H., San Antonio, Texas
 Pletcher, Mrs. J. W., Pacific
 Porter, E. K., Poplar Bluff
 Presnell, G. R., Kennett
 Prewitt, Frank, North Kansas City
 Prewitt, Mont T., Kansas City
 Pulliam, E. L., Ellington
 Redd, E. O., Mexico
 Reuber, H. E., Sikeston
 Rhoades, Mrs. Magarie C., Elsah, Illinois
 Richards, Mrs. Dona, St. Louis
 Roberts, Clarence N., Rolla
 Ross, Harry E., Oak Grove
 Rubey, S. C. A., Kansas City
 Ruddy, E. M., St. Louis
 Russell, Arch S., Sikeston
 St. Clair Chronicle, St. Clair
 Sanders, W. F., Parkville
 Sawyer, Samuel W., Kansas City
 Schaefer, George A., St. Louis
 Schmid, Otto, Kansas City
 Schwendeman, N. B., O'Fallon
 Scruggs, Cliff G., Jefferson City
 Sentner, William, St. Louis
 Shoemaker, Mrs. Floyd C., Columbia
 Smith, Mrs. S. A., Webb City
 Snodgrass, W. R., Kansas City
 Spencer, R. P., Fayette
 Spratt, Elliott C., St. Joseph
 Statler, Hinkle, Jefferson City
 Steffen, Mrs. Gertrude, Canton
 Stephens, F. F., Columbia
 Stockman, Fred E., Malta Bend
 Strong, Charles M., Macon
 Thomas, Ralph S., Independence
 Thompson, Henry C., Bonne Terre
 Timanus, Mrs. C. S., Kansas City
 Toensfeldt, Ralf, St. Louis
 Travis, G. C., Kennett
 Tripp, L. O., Eldorado, Illinois
 Turner, T. R., Madison
 Van Meter, Ray, Trenton
 Vaughn, Everett R., St. Louis
 Walker, Walter C., Kansas City
 Waters, Albert R., Kansas City
 Weaver, Raymond D., Sacramento, California
 Wells, Mrs. W. A., Jr., Marshall
 Wesley, Frank A., St. Louis
 White, Hollis L., Columbia
 White, L. M., Mexico
 Wilke, Mrs. Stanley, Washington

Wiles, I. R. L., St. Louis
 Wiley, F. L., Cleveland Heights,
 Ohio
 Williams, Roy D., Boonville
 Winter, Carl E., Eldon

Wise, Mrs. Abigail, St. Louis
 Woods, Mr. and Mrs. G. H.,
 Newtonia
 Wright, Charles L., St. Louis
 Young, Newton E., Sr., LaPlata

NEW MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

Four hundred and ninety-seven applications for membership were received by the Society during the three months from November, 1948, through January, 1949, inclusive. The total annual membership as of January 31, 1949, was 4,661.

The new members are:

Acord, Ervin L., St. Joseph
 Acuff, Joseph C., Kansas City
 Acuff, Robert L., Kansas City
 Adams, Cecil D., Chicago, Illinois
 Agerter, Mrs. Elsie, Buffalo
 Albus, Joseph, St. Joseph
 Alloway, John R., Elsberry
 Amos, J. Ferrell, Kansas City
 Anderson, C. M., Kansas City
 Anderson, Mrs. Jerushia, Eolia
 Anderson, William S., Louisiana
 Arseneau, Mrs. Robert R., St.
 Charles
 Asplin, William, Bourbon
 Atkeson, Mrs. H. A., Wichita,
 Kansas
 Atkinson, A. L., St. Louis
 Auchly, David J., O'Fallon
 Baker, L. W., St. Joseph
 Ball, Mrs. David, Wichita, Kansas
 Bamford, Frank, Hickman Mills
 Banks, Hartley G., Jr., Columbia
 Banta, Byron B., Marshall
 Barker, Earl E., Kansas City
 Barnett, A. J., Cuba
 Barnsback, Roy, Boonville
 Barr, Jo William, Rolla
 Bean, Clarence, Kansas City
 Beasley, K., St. Louis
 Beck, L. G., Kansas City
 Becker, Rollin E., Bonne Terre

Bedford, Homer F., Denver, Colo-
 rado
 Bell, Mrs. Orville, Wichita, Kansas
 Bell, W. J., Columbia
 Bay, Felix, Mountain Home, Idaho
 Bishop, Mrs. Esther D., Jefferson
 City
 Blackiston, Harry S., St. Louis
 Blackmon, C. G., St. Louis
 Blackwell, Mrs. H. F., Jr., Kansas
 City
 Block, Henry, Ferguson
 Bond, James, Galatia, Illinois
 Boulson, C. E., Marshfield
 Bowles, S. O., San Francisco,
 California
 Branch, Arthur M., St. Louis
 Brasfield, Mrs. C. B., Unionville
 Bremner, R. L., Cape Girardeau
 Bricker, Arthur G., Independence
 Britt, R. E., University City
 Brookfield Senior High School,
 Brookfield
 Brous, Richard P., Kansas City
 Brown, Mrs. Clyde, St. Charles
 Brown, Tom B., Jr., Kansas City
 Bumbarger, Paul W., Hickory,
 North Carolina
 Brunner, Raymond W., University
 City
 Burton, Cecil, Kansas City

- Burton, Mrs. William Y., Portland,
Oregon
Bush, Frank J., Clayton
Bush, Mrs. Vera D., St. Louis
Butcher, R. E., University City
Byrne, Mrs. William M., St. Louis
Callahan, Cornelius J., Richwood
Campbell, Mrs. Bess, San Diego,
California
Campbell, DeWitt C., North
Kansas City
Campbell, Jim, Bourbon
Campbell, Rachel V., Washington,
D. C.
Cantrell, Mrs. Katherine, Walnut
Grove
Carmack, Mrs. Iska W., Cape
Girardeau
Carpenter, J. A., Kansas City
Carroll, Ruth, Natchitoches,
Louisiana
Carter, Oscar L., Marshfield
Castlen, Taylor K., University
City
Cave, Rhodes E., St. Louis
Cayce, Dupuy F., Larchmont, New
York
Chamier, Richard J., Moberly
Chapman, Howard K., Englewood,
Colorado
Cheek, Mrs. Gusta Agee, Buffalo
Chrisman, Mrs. A. B., Kansas City
Clanton, Mrs. Josephine L., St.
Charles
Clarborn, Mrs. Nan, Buffalo
Clark, E. Eugene, Brentwood
Clark, Frank, San Antonio, Texas
Clark, Jamie, Kirksville
Clark, James K., Bison, South
Dakota
Clark, Mrs. Willis L., Carthage
Clay, J. Harry, Kansas City
Claypool, Mrs. Irene, Ash Grove
Clevenger, Leon H., Excelsior
Springs
Clingman, Mrs. Blanche, Walnut
Grove
Cloyd, Martha, St. Charles
Clyde, Mrs. Maurice F., Marshall
Cobb, Charles, St. Louis
Cofer, Mrs. Daisy Lee, Buffalo
Cole, J. A., Wheatland, Wyoming
Cole, Virgil B., Wichita, Kansas
Collins, William E., Mendon
Connelly, J. L., Ironton
Connett, William C., IV., St. Louis
Conoyer, John, St. Charles
Coppage, Arthur M., Hale
Corrigan, Helen Ann, St. Louis
Costello, Helen, St. Louis
Counsell, C. M., Kansas City
Cox, Lon, Overland Park, Kansas
Crawley, John C., Port Washington,
New York
Cullebine, Clair S., Ladue
Culver, Russell, North Kansas City
Curnutt, Roland T., Maryville
Curtis, L. S., St. Louis
Curtis, W. C., Columbia
Dailey, E. N., Fulton
Dallam, Faucett, Independence
Dalton, Van B., Cincinnati, Ohio
Daniel, Franz, Wellford, South
Carolina
Davenport, Mrs. Geraldine V.,
Jefferson City
Davis, Dean Bill, West Plains
Davis, H. W., Hannibal
Davis, Henry, St. Louis
Davis, John A., St. Louis
Davis, L. C., Trenton
Davis, Meribel A., Omaha,
Nebraska
Davidson, S. W., University
Heights, Ohio
Davidson, William C., North
Kansas City
DeArmond, Eugene M., Seymour
DeBerry, Albin, Marshall
DeGaris, Mrs. Emma Lane,
Hannibal
Deming, Frederick L., Webster
Groves

- Dempsey, Mrs. Erma, Walnut Grove
 Dietrich, Byron J., St. Louis
 Dismukes, Mrs. George, Biloxi, Mississippi
 Doniphan Public Library, Doniphan
 Donnell, John L., St. Louis
 Dornbach, John E., Belleville, Illinois
 Downs, Jesse E., St. Louis
 Dryden, Marie Louise, St. Louis
 Duff, Mrs. Faye, Sarcoxie
 Dwyer, W. A., St. Louis
 Dyer, Doris, Joplin
 Early, H. B., Liberty
 Edmondson, Mrs. W. C., Jefferson City
 Edwards, Lucille, St. Charles
 Elliott, B. L., Kansas City
 Engel, Mrs. Helen L., Hickman Mills
 England, Mrs. Frances E., Springfield
 Espy, Henry D., St. Louis
 Evangelical Deaconess Hospital Library, St. Louis
 Evans, Mrs. Betty, Savannah
 Evans, Mrs. J. A., St. Louis
 Evans, Lester W., St. Louis
 Evans, Y. R., Callao
 Fichthorn, Claude L., Marshall
 Fickeissen, George, Jr., St. Louis
 Field, Mrs. Gilbert B., Kirkwood
 File, Forrest, Decatur, Illinois
 Fisher, Gordon, St. Louis
 Flesh, R. S., Clayton
 Foster, Arabelle, St. Charles
 Foster, Leroy, Williamsville
 Francis, Marion S., St. Louis
 Fuels, Dan A., Jr., Independence
 Furse, Herbert L., Webster Groves
 Garrison, Max, Kansas City
 Garten, Claudia, Maryville
 Gerber, Gus H., Glencoe
 Gibbs, James, Jefferson City
 Gibleath, E. D., Kansas City
 Gillette, Lorrain, Stotts City
 Gladden, Mrs. Winnie M., Houston
 Goodwillie, Frank W., Jr., Kansas City
 Gorder, Elizabeth M., St. Louis
 Gott, Beulah, Henrietta
 Grauel, Warren, St. Louis
 Graves, Mrs. C. E., Wichita, Kansas
 Gray, George W., Arcadia
 Green, Ruby, Kirksville
 Gregory, R. H., Trenton
 Gross, Frank, Stillwell, Kansas
 Haar, James E., Webster Groves
 Hach, Fred J. H., St. Louis
 Haden, Charles, St. Joseph
 Hahn, Anna, St. Louis
 Haldiman, Joseph C., Phoenix, Arizona
 Hamilton, E. D., St. Louis
 Hamman, Clarence, St. Louis
 Hanna, Mr. & Mrs. H. H., Crystal City
 Harris, Edwin A., Kansas City
 Harrison, Charles L., Jr., St. Louis
 Harrison, Mrs. C. M., Gallatin
 Harrison, David C., St. Joseph
 Harrison, William H., St. Louis
 Hart, John W., Kansas City
 Hartwein, G. Harrison, St. Louis
 Hasejaeger, Hugo C., Treloar
 Hash, James Y., North Kansas City
 Hawkins, J. C., LaPlata
 Haynes, R. C., Marshall
 Heddens, Mrs. Barret S., Kansas City
 Hemenway, William Donaldson, Jr., Clayton
 Hennes, Mr. & Mrs. Lee, Stockton, California
 Henry, Robert J., Kansas City
 Herrell, Naomi, Ava
 Herren, Cline C., Marshfield
 Herzog, Phil L., Ste. Genevieve
 Hewitt, Mrs. M., Kansas City

- Hickman, Mrs. A. O., Wichita,
Kansas
- Hill, Mrs. Grace, Elkland
- Hillebrandt, Ben F., Kansas City
- Hine, Maurice, Fulton
- Hobart, Carl, St. Louis
- Hodges, Arthur O., Independence
- Hoefer, Arthur A., Higginsville
- Hoelzel, Herman H., Kansas City
- Hoffmann, R. F., St. Louis
- Holbrook, Marion, Washington,
D. C.
- Hollabaugh, Mrs. Z. J., Wichita,
Kansas
- Holland, C. B., Springfield
- Holmes, Albert E., Kansas City
- Hoppe, Albert H., St. Louis
- Horne, George V., Rock Hill Village
- Houck, Rudolph C., Webster
Groves
- Howard, Earl S., Poplar Bluff
- Hrbacek, Joseph M., St. Louis
- Hulse, Hunter, New London
- Humphreys, E. O., Joplin
- Hurst, R. Michael, St. Clair
- Huston, W. B., Kirksville
- Ihrig, Clara, Taft, California
- Ingler, James, Springfield
- Jackson, George P., Kansas City
- Jennemann, Cecilia K., St. Louis
- Johnson, Mrs. Leona, Ash Grove
- Johnston, J. A., Brashear
- Johnston, L. W., LaPlata
- Jones, Mrs. Anna, LaPlata
- Jones, Elizabeth F., St. Joseph
- Jones, Kensinger, House Springs
- Jones, Nellie, St. Louis
- Jones, Paul C., Washington, D. C.
- Joslyn, H. L., St. Louis
- Kays, John M., Columbia
- Kellough, Hildred, Bois D'Arc
- Kelso, Mrs. Susie, Ash Grove
- Kempster, Ernest B., St. Louis
- Kerr, Homer L., Crane
- Kersten, Earl W., St. Louis
- Killian, G. R., Webster Groves
- Killingsworth, Mrs. Omel M., Ash
Grove
- Kimbrough, Henry, St. Louis
- King, Austin A., Normandy
- Kircher, Harry B., Belleville,
Illinois
- Klink, George W., Savannah
- Knox, C. F., Springfield
- Koenig, Elliott P., St. Louis
- Kuehne, Richard M., St. Louis
- Kulmus, Earl, Kansas City
- Kunkel, E. J., Omaha, Nebraska
- Lages, C. R., Ellington
- Lamkin, Charles, Jr., Kansas City
- Lampton, Mrs. Frances P., Wichita,
Kansas
- Landon, Mrs. E. C., Denver, Colo-
rado
- Lewis, Mrs. C. R., Wichita, Kansas
- Lewis, Mary L., St. Louis
- Lewis, Ursula, Columbia
- Lewis, Mrs. W. C., St. Louis
- Lieber, Edna B., St. Louis
- Lines, Mrs. Morton, Sr., Springfield
- Long, Mrs. Alfred, Cadet
- Long, James J., Kansas City
- Loomis, Wesley H., III, Kansas
City
- Lowe, James H., Kennett
- Lowrance, Fred., Golden City
- McBean, Mrs. Lucile, Sherman
Oaks, California
- McBride, Mrs. W. D., Spokane,
Washington
- McCluer, V. C., Ferguson
- McCollum, J. A., Pawnee, Okla-
homa
- McDaniel, Kirk, Kansas City
- McDonald, Mrs. Carriemae,
Kansas City
- McDonald, E. H., Glendale, Cali-
fornia
- McDonald, J. R., Jefferson City
- McDonough, F. J., Cape Girardeau
- McKaughan, C. J., Kansas City
- McKenzie, Mrs. H. M., Eudora
- McLochlan, A. Bob, Salisbury

McMillan, Herman, Bourbon
 McPheeters, Thomas S., Jr., St. Louis
 McRoberts, R. H., St. Louis
 Madden, Louis P., Kansas City
 Magee, Carl E., Kirksville
 Malin, T. A., St. John, Kansas
 Markham, James W., Columbia
 Martin, Edward J., Kansas City
 Mason, H. V., Hannibal
 Matteson, Frank B., Grant City
 Matthews, Mrs. Robert, Sikeston
 Meador, Mr. & Mrs. Dan B., Greenwell Springs, Louisiana
 Medley, John R., Springfield
 Meek, Mrs. Kenneth, Bowling Green
 Meller, Philip M., Kansas City
 Mersman, William C., St. Louis
 Messick, Blanche, Bolckow
 Meyer, Carl F., St. Louis
 Meyer, Edwin L., Kansas City
 Meyer, George E., McKittrick
 Meyer, William F., Kansas City
 Michael, W. K., Kansas City
 Miles, Del, Madison
 Miles, Jesse, Hayti
 Miller, Mrs. Ruby E., Buffalo
 Milton, Howard, Kansas City
 Mitchell, J. E., St. Louis
 Moffett, Thomas S., Liberty
 Monett School District, Monett
 Monroe, E. T., Kansas City
 Moon, P. F., Springfield
 Mooney, Elvis A., Bloomfield
 Moore, Daniel A., Pacific
 Moore, Glover, State College, Mississippi
 Moran, Louis R., St. Louis
 Moreland, Porter, Kansas City
 Morrison, W. W., Cheyenne, Wyoming
 Motley, Guy C., St. Charles
 Mottinger, Anna, St. Charles
 Mueller, Carl H., St. Louis
 Mueller, Peter W., Webster Groves
 Mueller, Robert, University City

Myers, Mrs. Anna, Buffalo
 Myers, Edgar F., Kirksville
 Myers, Max H., Kansas City
 Myers, W. Leslie, Maysville
 Nahlik, Mrs. W. F., Jr., Brentwood
 Neece, Harold, Maryville
 Nichols, A. P., Jr., Kansas City
 Nichols, Everett G., Kansas City
 Nichols, George, Otterville
 Niemann, Mrs. William H., St. Louis
 Noah, Joseph W., St. Louis
 Northcutt, Clarence, Centralia
 Northeast Junior High School, Kansas City
 Noxon, George A., Kirkwood
 Nutter, Robert K., Jefferson City
 O'Brien, Thomas R., St. Louis
 Odell, Mrs. Agnes, Wichita, Kansas
 Okenfuss, Vera, Ste. Genevieve
 Oliver, P. R., Kansas City
 Orr, A. H., Shackleford
 Page, Robert A., Kansas City
 Painter, Leonard, Lee's Summit
 Palmer, Dale E., Sarcoux
 Papin, Alvin, Jefferson City
 Parker, Alice, St. Charles
 Parsons, Mr. & Mrs. Jesse, Otterville
 Patrick, Jean J., Macon
 Patterson, Keith E., Sikeston
 Pauls, Robert, St. Louis
 Payne, Mode, Fulton
 Perkins, R. H., Poplar Bluff
 Peterson, Mrs. Edith S., Springfield
 Pettit, Walter S., Springfield
 Pfeffer, William E., Fulton
 Phillips, Alroy B., St. Louis
 Pinet, Mrs. Margaret M., Jefferson City
 Plaseck, Robert Louis, Chicago, Illinois
 Poindexter, Royellen, South Greenfield
 Pope, L. E., Kansas City, Kansas
 Porter, J. E., Carrollton
 Powell, David H., Kansas City

- Powell, Gideon M., Dallas, Texas
 Powell, Lola H., Mexico
 Poynter, H. L., Cameron
 Prather, John, Excelsior Springs
 Prince, Chester J., Webster Groves
 Prince, John, Kansas City
 Prolest, Nolan, Fredericktown
 Quickel, Tom, Buckner
 Raine, Cecil C., LaPlata
 Rambo, C. H., Independence
 Rearick, Helen E., Santa Rosa, New Mexico
 Reedy, Mrs. Frank J., St. Louis
 Reynolds, Mrs. H. L., Blytheville, Arkansas
 Reynolds, Mrs. Roy, St. Louis
 Richard, Bessie, Sarcoxie
 Richards, Hazel, Kansas City
 Riley, Russell H., St. Louis
 Riner, Johnnie Elizabeth, Jefferson City
 Roberts, Edith, Kansas City
 Roberts, Mrs. Frank, Buffalo
 Robertson, Leon, Kansas City
 Robinson, Mrs. Maye L., Buffalo
 Robnett, Mrs. B. C., Walnut Grove
 Robyn, Paul, Jr., St. Louis County
 Roche, Alfred A., St. Louis
 Roche, Connie M., St. Louis
 Roessler, Carl E., Clayton
 Rogers, A. H., Carthage
 Rogers, Harrison L., Carthage
 Ross, Harry E., Oak Grove
 Rosse, J. Leon, Fayette
 Rouse, Clyde, Chandler Heights, Arizona
 Rowan, N. J., Sr., Meta
 Roy, Charles W., Houston
 Rubin, Maury E., St. Louis
 Russell, Harry F., St. Louis
 Russell, J. B., Ellington
 Russell, R. Melvin, St. Joseph
 Ryan, John, Fulton
 Salmon, Mrs. David, Florence, Colorado
 Sanford, Carl, Kansas City
 Sarazan, Earl A., Kansas City
 Sauer, Dean, St. Louis
 Sawyers, William Orr, St. Joseph
 Schlattmann, Edward, Jefferson City
 Schmuke, Mrs. Harriet, Wichita, Kansas
 Schnake, Mary Frances, Stotts City
 Scott, James A., St. Louis
 Scott, W. G., St. Louis
 Scruggs, John M., Albuquerque, New Mexico
 Sears, Merle, Freeburg, Illinois
 Shaeffer, Rebekah, Columbia
 Simons, Tad A., Trenton
 Simpkins, George W., St. Louis
 Simpson, Morris B., Kansas City
 Skelcher, Mrs. Sidney, Vevay, Indiana
 Smith, Edward B., Neosho
 Smith, Truett W., Kansas City
 Smith, Wilton A., Kansas City
 Somborn, Mrs. Charles A., St. Charles
 South Fork School, Perry
 Souttar, Fred C., Mission, Kansas
 Spies, John F., Pittsburg, Pennsylvania
 Spratt, Leah, St. Joseph
 Stamel, C. L., Ironton
 Stampfer, Joseph, St. Louis
 Stark, Mrs. James, Independence
 Statler, William O., Jackson
 Steed, Robert L., St. Louis
 Stees, Mrs. Charles, Wichita, Kansas
 Stephens, Mrs. F. F., Columbia
 Stewart, Mr. & Mrs. M. F., Columbia
 Stewart, W. J., Columbia
 Stumpf, Russell H., St. Louis
 Suebben, Mrs. E. C., Dillon, Montana
 Sullivan, Mrs. Grady R., Wichita, Kansas
 Summers, Mrs. C. E., Wichita, Kansas
 Sursa, Henri, Fredericktown

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|---|--|
| Swanson, Mrs. Mildred B., Independence | Wedd, Edward L., Marshfield |
| Tarlton, Mr. & Mrs. Walter E., St. Louis | Weems, Mr. & Mrs. E. B., Newtonia |
| Tatum, James M., Anderson | Wehr, Henry, Washington |
| Tatum, V. E., Anderson | Weigel, A. C., Jefferson City |
| Terrill, Phyllis V., Elkland | Weil, Henry, St. Louis |
| The Warfields, Gulfport, Florida | Weinhold, Mrs. Mary B., Level-land, Texas |
| Thoecke, Virginia Lee, Rockville Centre, New York | Weinstein, Rosemary, St. Louis |
| Thompson, Dan F., Kansas City | Welek, C., St. Louis |
| Thorp, Julia A., Kansas City | Wells, Mrs. A. L., Los Angeles, California |
| Thuner, Harry, St. Louis | Wells, Mr. & Mrs. Nathan, Powersville |
| Todd, Mrs. Pete, Kennett | Welshans, Merle, St. Louis |
| Trantham, E. S., Marshfield | Wese, Mrs. Cora, Denver, Colorado |
| Tucker, Mrs. E. A., Bowling Green | Whalen, Fred B., Kirkwood |
| Tuley, Byron W., Kirkwood | White, A. M., Mount Vernon |
| Turner, James A., San Antonio, Texas | Whiteman, Robert, Clayton |
| University Club Library, St. Louis | Wilcox, C. S., St. Joseph |
| Upton, Mrs. John, San Francisco, California | Williams, Robert H., Webster Groves |
| Vincent, Frank F., Springfield | Williams, Mrs. Marian E., West Los Angeles, California |
| Wagy, Harry, Lawson | Williamson, R. C., Kansas City |
| Walker, John R., Washington, D. C. | Willoughby, W. J., St. Joseph |
| Walters, Mrs. Perry, Stanberry | Winkler, W. W., Kansas City |
| Washington County Library, Potosi | Winn, Howard, Kansas City |
| Watkins, Fred L., Riverside, California | Winter, Lyman L., Jefferson City |
| Watts, Clarence, Troy | Woodcock, Sallie, Savannah |
| Watts, Mrs. W. W., St. Charles | Worsham, James A., Maplewood |
| Wayman, Norbury L., St. Louis | Young, Arthur C., Duluth, Minnesota |
| Weaver, Dolores E., San Francisco, California | Zorn, Edward, San Francisco, California |
| Webb City High School, Webb City | Zwicky, Marlin, Fulton |

WEEKLY FEATURE ARTICLES OF THE SOCIETY

Many of Missouri's early teachers left much to be desired, according to a recent article in the weekly feature series published in the newspapers of the state. Other articles of interest tell of Missouri's contribution to the Washington Memorial in the nation's capital, the importance of blacksmiths in pioneer days, candle-making, and the social as well as utilitarian aspects of the early mills. The articles released during January, February, and March are as follows:

January: "Lady of the Frontier a Jack-of-All-Trades," and "Pioneer Teachers Left Much to Be Desired."

February: "Fact or Fiction—the Story of a Missouri Barnum," and "Missouri's Tribute to George Washington."

March: "The Village Smithy Was Jack-of-All-Trades for Missouri Pioneers," and "Pioneers Played 'Down by the Old Mill Stream.'"

THIRD VOLUME OF OZARK FOLKSONGS

Volume III of *Ozark Folksongs* is off the press. To those who have enjoyed the first two volumes of this monumental four-volume collection of folksongs, this is an announcement of especial interest, for Volume III contains songs "in lighter vein" and "play party" tunes.

Whereas the previous volumes were concerned mostly with love and death and high adventure, this volume deals with "foolishment," according to the Ozark way of thinking. More than 250 tunes are included—some, forgotten vaudeville and music-hall ditties, others, children's songs and nursery rhymes, and a few which trace their origin to the old "nigger-minstrels" and medicine show comedians. With the return of the popularity of square dancing, the play party tunes are once again coming into their own.

Vance Randolph, who has collected and edited the more than 900 ballads and nearly 1,700 individual texts in the complete four-volume work, is America's foremost authority on Ozark folklore. Having lived among the Ozark people for twenty-five years, he was successful in securing many songs which were practically unknown outside of the hills. Edited for the State Historical Society by Floyd C. Shoemaker and Frances G. Emberson, Volume III fills in one important segment of the whole picture of a region.

Ozark Folksongs has received high praise from book reviewers in the metropolitan press and numerous folklore and historical publications. H. M. Belden, editor of *Ballads and Songs*, collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, wrote that Volume II of *Ozark Folksongs* "confirms my faith that the work when completed will be the best regional collection we

have in this country." Louis C. Jones, editor of the *New York Folklore Quarterly*, praised Volume II of *Ozark Folksongs* as "a remarkable tribute to the industry and scholarship of Vance Randolph and his colleagues and to the judgment of the Society. . . . When you realize that this volume [Volume II], which represents only a fourth of the work, runs more than 435 pages, and that it contains two hundred songs with a great number of variants, each one of them ably edited, you see that it is a challenge to the other states and regions in the Union to meet the accomplishment of Missouri. One of the most hoped for projects of Professor Thompson has been a volume of New York state folksongs, and we could hardly do better than use *Ozark Folksongs* as a model." Archie Taylor of *Western Folklore* proclaimed that "this volume (II) maintains worthily the high standards set by its predecessor . . . We look forward eagerly to the third and fourth volumes of *Ozark Folksongs*." J. Christian Bay, librarian emeritus of the John Crerar Library, Chicago, praised Volume II of *Ozark Folksongs* in these words: "I am convinced that few similar publications equal this, and that the State Historical Society of Missouri has produced a classic." Louis Meeker in a review of Volume II in the *Kansas City Star* summarized the Society's achievements with *Ozark Folksongs* thus: "This remarkable comprehensive history job goes forward with unabated vigor. In the field of American folk songs, *Ozark Folksongs* is the largest work yet produced by any state." *The U. S. Quarterly Booklist* called *Ozark Folksongs* "one of the major publications in the field of American folk music, and invaluable as a reference tool for teachers, students and librarians."

Ozark Folksongs are sold only as a set for \$15, payable at \$3.75 per volume as each is published. Sets may be obtained from the Society by making reservations now.

MESSAGES AND PROCLAMATIONS OF THE GOVERNORS OF THE
STATE OF MISSOURI

The official papers of Governor Lloyd C. Stark, Missouri's thirty-ninth chief executive, are now available as Volume XIV of the *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State*

of *Missouri*, a documentary series compiled by the State Historical Society of Missouri. Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the Society, and Miss Sarah Guitar, reference librarian, are co-editors of the book.

Volume XIV, 358 pages in length, covers Governor Stark's term of office from 1937 to 1941 and includes an excellent photograph of Stark and a biographical sketch by Dr. Walter H. Ryle, president of Northeast Missouri State Teachers College at Kirksville, as well as Governor Stark's official messages and proclamations. Some idea of the increasing business of state government through the years from 1820, the year with which Volume I of the series begins, to 1941, may be gained by a comparison of the number of pages taken up with each gubernatorial term. The first volume of the series covers twenty-four years, while Volume XIV covers only four years.

The fourteen-volume series of *Messages*, which was started in 1922 by the State Historical Society, is especially designed for reference librarians, lawyers, jurists, and students of political science. It includes the official public papers of the administrations of thirty-nine Missouri governors compiled from the House and Senate journals of the state, memoranda in manuscript form in the office of the secretary of state in Jefferson City, and reprints of missing early official documents which were published in various newspapers of the time. The material included is not available elsewhere in a single library or reference unit.

Copies of Volume XIV may be obtained from the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia for \$5.00, post-paid.

EFFORTS TO MOVE MOSES AUSTIN'S BODY TO TEXAS

Citizens of Potosi under the leadership of Mayor W. L. Edmonds have repudiated a recent proposal by the Potosi Lions Club to give the body of Moses Austin to the state of Texas in return for \$50,000 from the Texans which would be used to build a new town hall in Potosi.

Within a week after the proposal was made on January 29, 1949, Mayor Edmonds announced that the club's action was

unofficial and that the city council, which now controls the old Presbyterian and Masonic cemetery where Moses Austin is buried, had not been consulted. Thus for the second time in less than a dozen years, Potosi has thwarted efforts to move the Austin grave to Texas.

In April, 1938, the Texas Historical and Landmark Commission sent an Austin undertaker to Potosi to remove the body of Moses Austin to a state cemetery in Austin. It was not until the sound of pick and shovel was heard in the cemetery that the undertaker's intentions became generally known. Citizens of Potosi found three men breaking away the side of the stone and concrete vault over Moses Austin's grave. Civic reaction was immediate and the city council in a special session ordered the project stopped. The undertaker repaired the damage done to the vault at his own expense and returned to Texas without the body of Moses Austin.

A month later Edward Clark, Texas secretary of state representing Governor James V. Allred, came to Potosi bearing an offer from the state of Texas to donate \$1,000 for a monument to Moses Austin in Potosi in return for the surrender of Austin's body to Texas. Secretary of State Clark apologized for the action of the undertaker in attempting to remove Austin's body from Potosi the previous month. He added that even if Potosi rejected the \$1,000 monument offer, Texas would take no further action for the transfer of Austin's body to Texas.

The Texas monument offer was rejected and Potosi organized a Moses Austin Memorial Association to clean up the old cemetery and erect a suitable monument near the Austin grave.

Potosi's action in preventing the removal of Moses Austin's body to Texas was publicly commended after the 1938 incident by the State Historical Society of Missouri. Allen McReynolds, then president of the Society, and Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary, wrote to Mayor Edmonds that "the presumption which characterizes the effort (to remove Austin's body to Texas) is difficult to understand, but certainly if Missouri is to preserve and protect its historical landmarks

from desecration, it must depend upon the prompt action of such citizens as you and your associates."

While the Texas proposal to honor Moses Austin by removing his body from Potosi to Austin did not originate in 1938, it did receive a renewed impetus then due to the participation of the United States government in the Texas Centennial Celebration in 1936. In 1935 the Seventy-fourth Congress created the U. S. Texas Centennial Commission and appropriated \$3,000,000 to be spent by the commission on the centennial celebration. The appropriation was later amended to permit part of the \$3,000,000 to be spent on monuments and memorials to become the property of the state of Texas.

The United States government spent \$14,000 out of this fund for the ten-foot bronze portraiture of Moses Austin which stands on an octagonal red granite base on the city hall lawn in downtown San Antonio. On one side of the pedestal supporting this statute is this inscription: "Erected by the State of Texas 1936 with funds appropriated by the Federal government to commemorate one hundred years of Texas independence."

In February, 1941, a bill was introduced in the Missouri House of Representatives to create a Moses Austin Memorial Commission and appropriating \$25,000 to be spent by the commission on a Moses Austin memorial in Potosi. This bill was reported unfavorably by the appropriations committee and a substitute bill, creating the commission but omitting the appropriation of any funds, was approved in August, 1941. This commission has never done any work because of lack of funds.

Moses Austin, who was born in Durham, Connecticut, October 4, 1761, arrived in St. Louis in 1797 when Missouri was still a part of the province of Upper Louisiana under Spanish rule. He went almost immediately to Ste. Genevieve and westward forty miles into the interior where he visited the crude lead diggings at Mine à Breton. Austin applied to the Spanish authorities for a land grant at Mine à Breton and secured the necessary financial backing for sinking a

mine shaft and erecting an improved smelter and a sheet lead factory. He brought his family to Ste. Genevieve in 1798 and the next year moved to Mine à Breton. By 1804 he was a presiding judge of the Ste. Genevieve court. The present town of Potosi was founded in 1814 as the county seat of Washington County, organized the previous year. Moses Austin donated forty acres for the new town site immediately adjacent to Mine à Breton. In 1819 the Postoffice Department listed two separate postoffices in the area, one at "Mine à Burton," a common native spelling, and another at Potosi (Moses Austin, postmaster). The Mine à Breton settlement was included in the town of Potosi which was incorporated in 1826.

Moses Austin was considering the possibility of seeking a new frontier as early as 1813 when he "had some thought of trading to Texas." Financial difficulties including a drop in the price of lead following the War of 1812 affected his mine and smelter. The failure of the Bank of St. Louis, in which Austin was a stockholder and a borrower, added to his financial troubles as did the general depression of 1819-1820 which hit St. Louis in the summer of 1820. Austin's new frontier was Texas and he arrived in Bexar (San Antonio), December 23, 1820, and asked the Spanish authorities for permission to settle a colony of 300 American families in Texas. He suffered great hardship and privation on the return journey to Missouri and did not live to carry out his plan to colonize Texas. Notice of the approval of his request to colonize Texas reached him in May, 1821, a month before he died of pneumonia at the home of his daughter in Hazel Run, St. Francois County. His body, first buried at Hazel Run, was reinterred in the old Presbyterian and Masonic cemetery in Potosi in 1831.

Moses Austin bequeathed his plan to colonize Texas to his son, Stephen F. Austin, who established a settlement of several families on the Brazos River in 1822, the year after Mexico gained its independence from Spain. He went to Mexico City in April, 1822, and spent a year there obtaining confirmation from Mexican authorities of his Spanish colonial grants.

Stephen Austin's success in obtaining a colonization law from the Mexican authorities which encouraged American immigration into Texas saved his colony from extinction and permitted the Americanization of that province. For this work and success in the administration of his struggling settlements, Stephen Austin is known as the "Father of Texas." Later the American settlers revolted from Mexican rule and elected Stephen Austin commander-in-chief of the Army of Texas which successfully fought the Mexicans through 1835 and gave Texas her independence in 1836.

MISSOURIANS TAKE ACTIVE PART IN INAUGURATION WEEK
FESTIVITIES

Harry S. Truman, first Missourian to be inaugurated president of the United States, took his oath of office on January 20, 1949, climaxing almost a week of pre-inaugural festivities in which Missourians played a prominent and active role.

The Missouri program began Saturday, January 15, with a congressional ball at the Shoreham hotel given by the Missouri State Society of Washington, D. C., in honor of a group of distinguished Missourians headed by President Truman. Founded in 1900, the Missouri Society is one of the oldest state societies in the capital.

More than 1,900 members of the Truman-Barkley club were hosts at a banquet in the Mayflower hotel, Tuesday evening, January 18, for President Truman and Vice-President Alben W. Barkley, cabinet members, and other high ranking government officials.

The outstanding event of January 19 was Governor Forrest Smith's reception and buffet supper for the President in the Shoreham hotel. More than 1,500 guests, many of whom had arrived on the Governor's 34-car special train from Missouri the day before, gathered to honor the State's "favorite son."

President Truman went from this reception to an electoral college dinner and then on to a huge musical entertainment in the National Guard Armory.

On inauguration day the President joined one hundred of his World War I buddies of Battery D, 129th Field Artillery battalion, at a breakfast of Missouri ham and eggs in the Mayflower hotel. "Captain Harry" was presented with a gold-headed walking stick as a gift from the battery.

The inauguration ceremony took place shortly after 12 o'clock noon Thursday on a platform erected on the steps in front of the capitol. The President took the oath of office, administered by Chief Justice Vinson, with his left hand placed on two Bibles, one a small plain White House bible used when Mr. Truman took his oath of office, April 12, 1945, after the death of President Roosevelt, and the other a \$5,000 replica of the Gutenberg Bible which was presented to President Truman by the Independence Chamber of Commerce commemorating his mother, Mrs. Martha Truman. Bound in morocco leather and weighing twenty-five pounds, this Bible was one of three hundred printed in Leipzig, Germany, in 1913-14. Rabbi Samuel Thurman of the United Hebrew Temple in St. Louis offered the inaugural prayer.

The inauguration parade started at 2 o'clock headed by President Truman and Vice-President Barkley, who were flanked by the men of Battery D as a guard of honor. The Missouri section of the parade was led by Governor Forrest Smith, who was followed by the thirty-five-foot Missouri float which was drawn by eight championship Clydesdale horses, the property of Anheuser-Busch, Inc., of St. Louis. The float featured a replica of the state seal and a scale model of the White House surrounded by names of well known Missouri figures. Topping the display were the words "Our Greatest Missourian—Harry S. Truman." A wagon drawn by a team of four blue-ribbon mules from Lamar, Missouri, followed the float, which was in turn followed by the colorful mounted sheriff's posse from Jackson County.

An inaugural reception at the National Gallery of Art immediately following the parade and the inaugural ball at the National Guard Armory that night rounded out a full inauguration day for the President.

The Missouri congressional delegation was host to President Truman, Governor Forrest Smith and Lieutenant-Gov-

ernor James T. Blair, Jr., at a breakfast, Friday morning, January 21, in the House speaker's dining room in the capitol. The formal inauguration week program ended officially that afternoon with receptions given by Secretary of the Treasury John W. Snyder, a former St. Louisan, in the Wardman Park hotel and another reception given by J. Howard McGrath, Democratic national chairman.

THE STATE PRESENTS A SILVER SERVICE TO THE USS MISSOURI

A recent occasion of interest to Missourians was the presentation, by Governor Phil M. Donnelly on behalf of the state of Missouri, of a 281-piece silver dinner service to the battleship *USS Missouri*, famed for being the site of Japan's surrender at the close of World War II. Purchased at a cost of \$10,000, each piece of silver bears a replica of the state seal and the inscription "USS Missouri," the larger pieces bearing also the navy seal. Capt. James H. Thach, Jr., commander of the ship, accepted the gift on behalf of the crew.

The service was on display in the rotunda of the state capitol in Jefferson City from November 30 through December 1, when it was sent by navy plane to Norfolk, Virginia, where the presentation took place on December 4. President Harry S. Truman participated in the ceremony aboard the only remaining one of the country's sixteen top battleships which is still in commission. Launched at the Brooklyn navy yard January 29, 1944, the *USS Missouri* was completed at a cost of \$100,000,000 and has a tonnage of 45,000.

MISSOURIANS WHO HAVE LED THE ARMY

Missouri may well be proud of her military men for a review of the roster of famous names will show that a great many Missourians have held positions of prominence in the army.

Before the Civil War, Ulysses S. Grant lived in St. Louis and vicinity, 1854-1860, and William Tecumseh Sherman owned property there in 1851, was the president of a street railway in St. Louis when the Civil War began and at later intervals in his life lived in the city. In 1874 he moved his

office to St. Louis and made that city the official headquarters of the United States Army, and when he died in 1891 he was buried in Calvary Cemetery there.

In the twentieth century, four native-born Missourians have held the high post of army chief of staff: General John C. Bates of St. Charles County (January 15, 1906-April 13, 1906), General John J. Pershing of Linn County (1921-1924), General Malin Craig of St. Joseph (1935-1939), and General Omar N. Bradley of Randolph County (1947-). General Pershing was also honored by being one of two men who have held the title of "general of the armies," the other being George Washington. And of course now as commander in chief of all of the armed forces of the United States is another Missourian, Harry S. Truman.

CAHOKIA WILL CELEBRATE ITS 250TH ANNIVERSARY

The village of Cahokia, Illinois, three miles south of East St. Louis, will observe the 250th anniversary of its founding in 1699 during a two-week period beginning May 14. More than twenty historical and civic organizations are cooperating with the Cahokia 250th Anniversary Association in planning the observance, which will include civic and religious ceremonies, a pageant, music festival, military parade and tours to nearby points of interest in the early French culture of the Middle West. Participants in the observance will be the governor of Illinois, the French ambassador, the Cardinal Archbishop of Chicago, and others prominent in public life and the Roman Catholic church.

An important center of interest in the anniversary program will be the Holy Family Church of Cahokia, reported to be the only surviving example of a church building of the French colonial period in the United States. The building is now being restored.

An informative folder entitled "Cahokia: Two Centuries and a Half," commemorating the 250th anniversary of the village as the first settlement in the Mississippi Valley, is now being distributed by the Cahokia 250th Anniversary Association. Irving Dilliard, a past-president of the Illinois

State Historical Society, is the author of the folder which describes the early history of Cahokia.

ACTIVITIES OF COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Boonslick Historical Society met November 11 in the Methodist Church in Boonville. Approximately 150 persons in attendance from Cooper and Howard counties heard Edgar C. Nelson, secretary of state, speak on "Sidelights in the History of Howard County."

The society held its annual dinner at the Frederick hotel in Boonville, January 13. After a musical program and a talk by Judge Roy D. Williams on "Early Boonslick's Hall of Fame," officers for the coming year were elected as follows: Edgar C. Nelson, president; Lewis M. Means, vice-president; Mrs. Ed. Griggle, secretary; and Mrs. M. E. Gaddis, treasurer.

The Cole County Historical Society has received the certificate of its Award of Merit, which award was made by the American Association for State and Local History last October 27-29, 1948. The society was one among eleven so honored throughout the United States by this association.

New board members of the society have been appointed as follows: George Hope, Mrs. J. G. Gibson, Mrs. Henry Guhleman, Arthur Ellis, Mrs. Henry Ellis, and Chester Platt.

The Dunklin County Historical Society met November 29 in the circuit court room in Kennett. The program consisted of a short patriotic address by Judge George Munger and three historical papers: Sue Oliver gave a history of the Senath Methodist Church since its organization in 1904, the Rev. R. F. Lidell spoke on the Hornersville Baptist Church which had its beginning in 1897, and David Langdon gave a history of the Langdon family, six generations of whom have lived in Dunklin County.

The society now plans to publish Volume I of a proposed series in book form of the historical papers which have heretofore been presented to the society. Preceding each paper will be a picture of the author and a brief biographical sketch.

The Historical Association of Greater St. Louis met November 19 at Brown Hall, Washington University. The program consisted of a round table discussion of Arnold Toynbee's *A Study of History*, participated in by Professor Thomas Neill of St. Louis University and Professors Dietrich Gerhard and Edward Welkin of Washington University.

January 21 the association met in the Men's Lounge, St. Louis University. Dr. Jasper W. Cross of St. Louis University read a paper on "The Influence of the Forty-Eighters on the Election of 1860," which was later reviewed by Walter Ehrlich. Professor Dietrich Gerhard also gave a review of the recent annual meeting of the American Historical Association.

A very worthwhile project of the Jackson County Historical Society is described in a recent letter urging everyone to contribute family, church, lodge, and community histories to the society as an aid in establishing a file of historical documents in the county library. Such a collection will be of great historic value.

A motion to organize a Monroe County Historical Society was approved at the Rotary Club's New Year party, held December 30 in Paris, Missouri. R. Irvin Colborn was elected president and Paul Gerster, secretary-treasurer. With the cooperation of the county court, the group hopes to establish a historical museum on the lower floor of the court house.

The Native Sons of Kansas City held a dinner meeting in the Pine Room at the Union Station, Kansas City, January 28. The program consisted of an address by Frank Glenn.

ANNIVERSARIES

Bridgeton Lodge No. 80 A. F. & A. M. celebrated its 100th anniversary in 1946 with the issuance of a historical booklet compiled by Frank M. Sskwor, a copy of which was sent to the State Historical Society. In addition to the history of the local chapter, the author traces Masonic history from its origins in England. He also has included pictures of

most of the past masters from 1846 on, pictures of some of the meeting places of the lodge, and a roster of officers and members throughout the years.

The First Presbyterian Church of Chillicothe observed its ninetieth anniversary with an Anniversary and Building Fund Sunday, November 21, a family basket dinner, November 23, and a Homecoming Sunday, November 28. At the dinner on the 23rd, Mrs. A. T. Weatherby gave a history of the church from the time of its organization, November 27, 1858, and read a history of the church choir compiled by the late Mrs. Sally Crellin.

Zion Evangelical and Reformed Church of St. Joseph observed its ninetieth anniversary with a banquet November 9. The speaker on the occasion was Dr. Adiel J. Moncrief, pastor of the First Baptist Church.

The Houston Herald had its seventieth birthday in 1948 and in commemoration of the event issued an eight-page memorial section. In it, high tribute was paid to E. K. Lyles, editor for fifty-seven years and owner for fifty-two. Pictures of "then" and "now" with histories of different institutions in Houston complete the edition.

The St. Louis Naturalists' club celebrated its fiftieth anniversary recently with a meeting at the home of Max Schwarz in Webster Groves. Although limiting its membership to twelve, the club has numbered among its members Dr. Joseph Grendon, professor emeritus of dermatology at St. Louis University, Dr. Robert Terry, professor emeritus of anatomy at Washington University, Otto Widmann, noted ornithologist, and Frank Schwarz, noted taxidermist.

MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS

Plans are moving forward for the conversion of a 210-acre tract near Diamond, Missouri, into a national shrine honoring George Washington Carver, noted Negro scientist who was born there. A board of commissioners named in federal con-

demnation proceedings have filed a report recommending \$51,528.49 in awards for the land which is to be taken and notices have been sent the present owners of the land.

David M. Warren, a native of Dade County, Missouri, a graduate of the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri, and now a prominent editor and banker of Panhandle, Texas, has given \$200 to the Dade County library for the purpose of starting a Missouri history collection. Entitled the "Kate Speer Warren Memorial Collection," it is to serve as a memorial to his mother honoring the seventy-fifth anniversary of her birth on October 2, 1873. Each gift book is stamped with the name of the collection and the name of David M. Warren as donor.

The new \$260,000 high school which is to be built at Hamilton, Missouri, is to be named Penney High School and is to serve as a memorial to the parents of J. C. Penney, the largest contributor to the building fund. The late Reverend and Mrs. J. C. Penney, the parents, were pioneers of the Hamilton community and their children all graduated from high school there. An earlier building named in their memory, also, is the library, half of the funds for which were given by J. C. Penney, the merchant.

A bit of history of forty years ago was brought out in the *Kansas City Times* of January 5, 1949, in telling the story of a bronze memorial plaque set in a granite boulder in Penn Valley park. Dedicated to Charles Carroll Spalding who in 1858 wrote *The Annals of the City of Kansas and the Great Western Plains*, the plaque was paid for by a subscription fund started by the *Star* in 1908 and was placed in the park ten years later. The original plaque was stolen in 1929 but was replaced by a Kansas City firm. Copies of Spalding's book are now rare, although records show that stacks of them were distributed to passengers as they left steamboats in Kansas City in early days.

NOTES

Frank C. Rand and St. Louis' five Nobel Prize winners, Drs. Arthur H. Compton, Joseph Erlanger, Gerty Cori, Carl Cori, and Edward A. Doisy, were honored at a dinner given by the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce on November 29 at the Hotel Jefferson when honorary Chamber of Commerce memberships were awarded them. Six hundred persons assembled to hear Dr. Compton's address on "The History and Significance of Nobel Prizes" and the discussion by Frank Rand on the "Contribution of American Business to the Health and Welfare of American Life."

General Omar N. Bradley, United States Army chief of staff, has been advanced from the rank of major general to the permanent rank of general.

At a ceremony in the Stockholm, Sweden, concert hall on December 10, T. S. Eliot, St. Louis-born poet, was presented his Nobel Prize award by Crown Prince Gustaf Adolph.

Dr. W. Harry Barron, of Fredericktown, Missouri, was accorded the honor of being designated as Missouri's outstanding family doctor of 1948 by the Missouri Medical Association. As a boy, Dr. Barron's first job was that of a "muleskinner" at Mine La Motte, but his determination to be a doctor finally carried him through four years at Barnes Medical School in St. Louis to a practice at Mine La Motte in 1904. Now, at the age of seventy-three, he is still "Doc" to the people of Madison County.

The Nancy Hunter chapter of the D.A.R. has compiled *A History Record of Lorimier Cemetery, Cape Girardeau, Missouri*, which is a tabulation of the inscriptions on the old grave stones in that cemetery. Members of the chapter have copied the names, and dates of births and deaths from these old markers so that this historical data would not be lost.

Mrs. Laura Ingalls Wilder of Mansfield has been honored by the city of Detroit, Michigan, in the naming of one of its

branch libraries for her. In inviting Mrs. Wilder to appear at the opening in January and to participate in a broadcast, the library commission wrote that "this enduring honor is in recognition of the fine social history of pioneer days in the Mid-West which you have presented in your series of books so beautifully and so clearly."

William P. (Bill) Odom, son of Mr. and Mrs. Dennis Odom of Raymore, Missouri, broke another record January 13, when he completed a 2375-mile flight from Honolulu to Oakland, California, in twenty-two hours and six minutes. It was a new non-stop record for light planes. August 7-10, 1947, Bill set a record by circling the globe in seventy-three hours and five minutes.

"Negro Scientist Shows 'Way Out' for Southern Farmers, a Story of George Washington Carver of Tuskegee" is the title of a twenty-one page booklet recently received by the Society as a gift from J. Henry Smith, executive secretary of the George Washington Carver Foundation at Tuskegee, Alabama. The booklet is a reprint of an article by Osburn Zuber in the *Montgomery Advertiser* of December 22, 1929, which gives an appraisal of Carver's great contributions to southern agriculture. Born on a Missouri plantation in 1864, kidnapped by raiders in the Civil War and ransomed for a \$300 race horse, he lived to carry on scientific experiments at Tuskegee Institute which were of untold value to the South.

Henry A. Bundschu, friend and neighbor of Harry S. Truman since boyhood, recently prepared an address for the Paul Patton study club of Kansas City, on the ancestry and life story of the President. Reprinted in the *Kansas City Star* of December 26, it brings out many intimate details which are not found in any of the recent books on the President.

Chester A. Bradley in his "Missouri Notes" in the *Kansas City Times* of January 28, calls our attention to the fact that Vice-President Barkley's mother was born in Caruthersville,

Pemiscot County, Missouri. This point, Bradley said, was brought out in a recent speech in Congress by Senator Forrest C. Donnell.

Presentations of two Sigma Delta Chi plaques marking historic sites in journalism were made recently by Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society. Mr. Shoemaker has been chairman of the Sigma Delta Chi Historic Sites in Journalism Committee since it was established by the national professional journalistic fraternity in 1940. One plaque was presented to *The Montgomery* (Alabama) *Advertiser* in honor of Grover Cleveland Hall, late editor of the *Advertiser* on November 4, 1948. Another plaque was presented to *The Emporia* (Kansas) *Gazette* in honor of William Allen White, late editor of the *Gazette*, on February 9, 1949. Roy A. Roberts, president of *The Kansas City Star* and past honorary president of Sigma Delta Chi, delivered an address on Mr. White at a public luncheon in Emporia before the presentation of the plaque.

The "Everyday Magazine" section of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* for December 14 carried an article by Dickson Terry on the St. Louis artist, Frank Nuderscher, and his work with several disabled veterans who exhibited artistic talent. The winner of numerous awards and prizes for his scenes of St. Louis, Nuderscher, at the age of seventy, has tried everything from decorating a hunting cap to painting a mural in the state capitol at Jefferson City.

The program of the St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, which held its annual luncheon December 30 at the Mark Twain hotel, St. Louis, was centered around Cahokia which will celebrate its 250th anniversary next May 15-22. The Reverend Joseph P. Donnelly, S.J., spoke on "The First Hundred Years of Cahokia Parish"; Professor John Francis McDermott described the contents of a volume on Cahokia which he is preparing for the publisher; and Charles E. Peterson, National Park Service architect, spoke on the probability

that the Church of the Holy Family at Cahokia may rest on the rock foundations of old Fort Bowman, a western rampart in the Revolutionary War.

The discovery by a young student of the foundations of seven small houses and a well-preserved wine cellar near the site of the old Liberty arsenal in Clay County has added to the knowledge of the historic site. Albert M. Hindman, in an article in the *Kansas City Star* of December 1, describes a recent visit he made to the area and gives a short sketch of the arsenal for the eleven years (1836-1847) it was maintained as a military post and the part it played in the Civil War period.

Wisconsin University, in celebrating its approaching centennial, should give thanks to the state of Missouri for two men who contributed a great deal to its development, according to an article in the November 29 *Kansas City Times* by John Edward Hicks entitled "Missourians Contributed to Renown of Wisconsin University, Nearing Centennial." Dr. John H. Lathrop was brought from his position as president of the University of Missouri to Wisconsin to be the new university's first chancellor in 1849, and from 1925 to 1937 Dr. Glenn Frank, born in Queen City, Missouri, presided over its destinies as president.

Battery D, 129th field artillery, probably had little idea at its reunion in 1920, that one of its members would become president of the United States. The *Kansas City Star*, in its January 16 issue, prints a picture of this reunion and also a recent one of some of the members of the battery entraining for Washington to participate in the inauguration of their Captain Harry S. Truman.

One hundred and ninety-six years ago, a census of Ste. Genevieve numbered twenty-three persons. Today, with 2,660 inhabitants, the town points with pride to its old homes with their French style of architecture, and it still keeps up some of the old traditions such as the New Year's Eve mas-

querade, according to an article by Louis O. Honig, "Historic Ste. Genevieve Was an Outpost in Missouri as Nation Pushed Westward," in the *Kansas City Times* of January 31.

Joseph D. Roberts, in an article in the *Kansas City Times* of November 24, gives an excellent description of one section of the old Santa Fe trail south from the steamer landing at the foot of Main St., Kansas City, to the old town of Westport. Entitled "A Winding Road to Westport Traversed the Area Now Downtown Kansas City," the article recalls the trip taken by some old wagonmasters in 1905, when, at the invitation of the Kansas City board of public works, they retraced the old route as they remembered it.

The Missouri Historical Society held a meeting in Jefferson Memorial, November 26, at which time William Glasgow Bowling, dean of admissions and associate professor of English at Washington University, spoke on "Saint Louis, Old and New." His talk was illustrated with color motion pictures showing St. Louis' historic sites and landmarks.

At a meeting on January 28 in the Memorial, the Rev. Joseph P. Donnelly, S.J., reviewed the colorful history of the parish of Cahokia between 1699 and 1799 showing the effect of the French culture upon the Indians of the valley.

Frederick Allen Mills, the composer of the song "Meet Me in St. Louis," as well as a number of other song hits, died December 5th. This song, written shortly before the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis in 1904, was used to advertise the fair and it became one of the most popular tunes of the day.

In its program for the "Page One Ball of 1948," the St. Louis Newspaper Guild presented a contribution to the history of St. Louis newspaperdom. The avowed purposes of the Ball were sociability and the opportunity to honor a citizen, the late Dr. Joseph A. Bredeck, for his work in the cause of public health in St. Louis, but the purpose of the program was mainly to present sketches of some of the giants of the news-

paper world as follows: "Reedy's Mirror," by Carlos Hurd; "McCullagh of the Globe-Democrat," by Harry Wilson; "Simon Legree [Charles Chapin] of the City Desk," by F. A. Behymer; "Mr. Bovard," by Irving Dilliard; "The Unbeatable Rogers," by Sam Shelton; "Buck O'Malley," by Adolph Rahm; and "Pulitzer's Prime Minister," [Florence White], by Charles Edmundson.

A series of ten radio broadcasts on the subject of "Our Missouri Constitution" is being presented over radio station WEW, St. Louis, each Wednesday beginning February 2, by the division of audio-visual education of the St. Louis public schools. Covering the period from 1821 to the present time, the series presents five dramatizations prepared by Miss Llewellyn Lieber and produced by the radio-workshop of St. Louis University; two roundtable discussions, also by Miss Lieber, featuring some of the leaders of the constitutional convention of 1943-1944; and three final broadcasts, prepared by William Kottmeyer, director of education for the St. Louis schools, on the provisions of the present constitution.

Blockhouse No. 1, the reconstructed blockhouse of old Fort Osage, near Kansas City, is now open to visitors on Sundays, due to the courtesy of the D.A.R. chapter and the Parent-Teachers Association of Sibley. According to the Native Sons of Kansas City, under whose auspices the reconstruction was done, as many as 400 persons a Sunday have visited this historic spot.

The Nickel Plate Road Magazine for November gives a short article by C. F. Tall on the history of the Merchants' Exchange in St. Louis. Founded in 1836 as the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce with twenty-five members, the organization became the Exchange in 1850 and numbered 200 members. In 1947 it did \$200,000,000 worth of cash business.

Nineteen hundred and forty-eight was the centennial year for the creation of Oregon Territory by the United States government. In commemoration of this event, the American

Pioneer Trails Association issued, in cooperation with the Union Pacific Railroad, a booklet by Walter Meacham entitled "Old Oregon Trail: Roadway of American Home Builders," and a pictorial map showing the route of a number of old historic trails. This booklet and map, sent to the State Historical Society of Missouri as a gift from the Union Pacific Railroad whose main branch lines parallel closely most of the Oregon Trail, give a compact little story of the difficulties, tragedies, and adventures participated in by the early pioneers in getting to Oregon.

"The Pony Express Territory" is the title of a beautifully illustrated booklet released last fall by the Missouri Resources and Development Commission. The fifth of a series of regional publications to acquaint the people of the state with its scenic and historic spots, it could not help but foster pride in Missouri and interest in this particular section. Its sixty-four illustrations are top rank examples of the photographer's art. Previous regional booklets issued by the commission since 1945 are: "The White River Country," "The Lake of the Ozarks," "The Mark Twain Region of Missouri," "Big Springs Country of Missouri," and a special booklet called "Variety Vacations." A sixth regional booklet just off the press is entitled "Meramec Valley of Missouri."

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

The Valley of the Mississippi. By J. C. Wild and Lewis F. Thomas. (Saint Louis: Joseph Garnier, 1948. 145 pp.) One of a limited edition of 300 copies, this fine reproduction of Wild and Thomas' *Valley of the Mississippi*, issued in nine "parts" in 1841-1842, was made by photo-offset process from the copy of the original edition now in possession of the State Historical Society of Missouri, which copy is considered to be one of the most complete of the fourteen known copies in existence. The 145 pages of valuable descriptive matter are, in many instances, the only contemporary report in printed form of the subjects treated and the thirty-five lithographic plates are the source of nearly all the views of early St. Louis and vicinity. Quarto in size, with separate

title pages and buff-colored wrappers for each part, it is attractively bound in black cloth decorated with raised bands and gilt-lettered spine.

Fifty Years of Public School Teaching. By Claude Anderson Phillips. (Columbia, Mo.: Missouri State Teachers Association, Inc., 1948. 145 pp.) Although this book is largely an interesting personal history, it does present the steps taken during the fifty year period, 1890-1940, by Dr. Phillips toward the realization of his goal—the organization of a profession for teachers. From his rural school days when he was not allowed to teach physiology and hygiene to one young lady because it was “indecent,” to the laboratory school at the university where second graders were taught to speed up their learning processes by the use of typewriters, is a big jump, but one easily made by the author, for the intervening years had been spent in an almost constant series of experiments and intensive thinking on the subjects of better teacher training, more effective methods of teaching, and the setting up of standards by which to judge both students and teachers.

Album of American History. Edited by James Truslow Adams. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948. 385 pp.) Volume IV of this pictorial history of the United States is the story of America growing up. Very much like examining the family album of one's children emerging from awkward adolescence to adulthood, one sees the America of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with its growing pains and its concern for its own affairs—strikes, elections, movies, prohibition, the airplane and the automobile—develop into an adult and sophisticated nation. Almost every section of the country is represented by some pictures; those of Missouri being of a distinctly backwoods flavor. So-called “painless history,” this handsome volume is a contribution to the visual education field.

Kaskaskia under the French Regime. By Natalia Maree Belting. Illinois Studies in the Social Studies, Vol. XXIV, No. 3. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1948. 140 pp.)

An interesting bit of Illinois history is chronicled in this very readable account of the Illinois country just across the river from Ste. Genevieve in the period 1703-1764. The country itself is described with the colorful touch of an artist, and in telling of the occupations, customs, and government of the French and Indians living there, the point is brought out that the inhabitants of the six settlements, of which Kaskaskia was the most important, were to raise and furnish much of the food for the southern outpost of the French, around New Orleans. The author has made valuable use of some 3000 documents in the Kaskaskia Manuscripts now housed at Chester, Illinois, photostatic copies of documents in the French archives which are at the University of Illinois, and a large number of other primary sources. Kaskaskia itself and the villages of Fort de Chartres and St. Philippe have now vanished, victims of the river they bordered, but their history is in no danger of being forgotten as long as such competent historians as Miss Belting are at hand.

Jim Reed "Senatorial Immortal." By Lee Meriwether. (Webster Groves, Mo.: International Mark Twain Society, 1948. 273 pp.) It is Reed the orator, Reed the patriot, Reed the fighter for principles whom one sees in this very readable account of the life of the man who was twice mayor of Kansas City and three times senator from Missouri in Congress. A bitter opponent of the League of Nations and of prohibition, Reed broke with Wilson in 1920 and with the Democratic party in 1936 when he refused to support Roosevelt and the New Deal. The "stormy petrel" of Missouri politics could have had no more sympathetic biographer than Lee Meriwether, who knew Reed intimately during most of his life and was his campaign manager in the Reed-for-President boom of 1928.

We Fought for Freedom. By Winston K. Sexton. (Kansas City, Mo.: Burton Publishing Co., [1948]. 116 pp.) With a bad wound in his leg, and his plane on fire, the author of this book, a Harrisonville, Missouri, flier, bailed out over Italy and was captured by the Germans in World War II. Rather

than lose his precious freedom, he chose to escape and in the next nine months he walked over 700 miles through the enemy lines to try to rejoin the Americans. At last, ill with pneumonia but safe in the Vatican "free city," he had time to analyze why he had made the desperate attempt to escape. His conclusions were that it was an instinct for freedom which was inseparable from his being an American.

The Hall Carbine Affair: a Study in Contemporary Folklore. By R. Gordon Wasson. (New York: Pandick Press, Inc., 1948. 190 pp.) The long accepted version of this old Civil War affair was that J. P. Morgan laid the basis for his fortune in a deal whereby he sold obsolete carbines, bought from the federal government for \$3.50 each, to General Fremont, in charge of the Department of the West and stationed at St. Louis, for \$22 each. The author quite successfully explodes this myth by a careful analysis of source material which at the same time clears Fremont's name in the affair and shows the struggles he was going through to arm his men.

Pioneer Life in Kentucky, 1785-1800. By Daniel Drake. Edited by Emmett Field Horine. (New York: Henry Schuman, 1948. xxix, 257 pp.) In these ten "reminiscential" and intimate letters written to his children by Dr. Drake, the most noted doctor of his times in the Middle West, the story is related, with humor and vividness, of a pioneer home and rural society in the Mayslick community, Kentucky, in the late eighteenth century.

The first edition of *Pioneer Life*, published in 1870, was arranged by Drake's son, Charles Daniel Drake, who had settled in St. Louis, interested himself in Missouri politics, and was elected a United States senator from Missouri in 1866. A reprint, published in 1907, has now become rare, so this 1948 publication is a valuable addition to the story of frontier life. (The J. Christian Bay Collection of the State Historical Society of Missouri contains ten items by Dr. Drake, including two volumes of the rare 1870 edition of his *Pioneer Life*.)

Devil Take a Whittler. By Weldon Stone. (New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1948. 252 pp.) Lem Skaggs, in this fanciful, rather lusty tale of the Ozark hills, consorts with the Devil to win him a bride—Myra, the school teacher's daughter who wears shoes. Old Nick continues to blow a "mean" horn, however, and often tempts Lem away from Myra's ways and from "putting in his crop" to spend his time whittling. Humorous throughout, the book ends with Myra the apparent victor but with Lew, their son, showing signs of carrying on the Skaggs whittling tradition.

Agricultural Literature and the Early Illinois Farmer. By Richard Bardolph. Illinois Studies in the Social Studies, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 1, 2. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1948. 200 pp.) In this scholarly monograph the author has listed and appraised the agencies which made an attempt to educate the farmer in the period prior to 1870. A seeming allergy to "book farming," poverty, and old superstitions did their best to interfere with the spread of new ideas as advocated by newspapers, agricultural societies and farm journals but gradually a "thin trickle of sound educational matter" penetrated to the farmers from the newspapers, and journals such as the *Prairie Farmer* came to be quite influential. Their articles and editorials reached out into every aspect of rural economy and advised the farmers on keeping account books, warned them against petty swindlers and powerful monopolies, and advocated agricultural schools and favorable legislation. The author, while not attempting to measure the influence which this literature had on farm practices, does cover his subject thoroughly in this heavily documented and well-indexed work.

The Westerners Brand Book, Los Angeles Corral, 1947. ([n.p. n.d.] 176 pp.) Many readers will feel, after examining this first brand book of the Los Angeles Corral, like adding their names to the membership waiting list. If such interesting papers are always given as the fifteen included, and the meetings hold up to the ones described, this corral should prosper. Beside a wealth of excellent pictures, the volume contains a good bibliography and index.

OBITUARIES

BENJAMIN McALESTER ANDERSON: Born in Columbia, Mo., May 1, 1886; died in Santa Monica, Calif., Jan. 19, 1949. After graduating from the University of Missouri in 1906, he received his A.M. from the University of Illinois in 1910, and his Ph.D. from Columbia in 1911. He taught for a number of years in the colleges of Missouri, at Columbia University, at Harvard, and was at the time of his death professor of banking at UCLA. He was also economic adviser to the National Bank of Commerce, New York, 1918-1920, and the Chase National Bank of the same city, 1920-1939. He was the author of a number of books on economics.

STRATTON DULUTH BROOKS: Born in Everett, Mo., Sept. 10, 1869; died in Kansas City, Mo., Jan. 18, 1949. He received a Bachelor of Pedagogy degree in 1892 and a Master of Pedagogy degree in 1899 from Michigan State Normal College, a B.A. from the University of Missouri in 1896, and an M.A. from Harvard in 1904, beside an honorary LL.B. from Colby College, Maine, in 1912, and from Kingfisher College, Oklahoma, in 1920. Spending his entire career as an educator, he became president of the University of Oklahoma, 1912-1923, and of the University of Missouri, 1923-1931. He was a past president of the Oklahoma Education Association and of the National Society for the Scientific Study of Education.

CHARLES A. BROWN: Born in Ray Co., Mo., Oct. 28, 1867; died in Richmond, Mo., Dec. 17, 1948. A teacher for twenty-four years in Ray County, and a retired farmer, he served as a representative in the state legislature for two terms, 1929-1933.

ROY E. GOODWIN: Born in Jackson, Mo., Sept. 19, 1910; died in Jackson, Mo., Dec. 3, 1948. A past president of the Cape County chapter of the Missouri Conservation Federation, which he was instrumental in organizing, he was also a director of the Missouri Wildlife Conservation Federation, and had been elected in November as a representative to the Missouri General Assembly.

WESTON B. (BERT) HALL: Born near Page City, Mo., 1886(?); died in Fremont, Ohio, Dec. 6, 1948. After learning to fly a plane in France in 1909, he took part in the Balkan wars of 1912 and in 1914 joined the French Foreign Legion. He was instrumental in forming the famed Lafayette Escadrille of World War I and after the conclusion of peace went to China where he became head of the Chinese air forces under the name of General Chang.

CHARLES THOMAS HAYS: Born in New London, Mo., May 9, 1869; died near New London, Mo., Feb. 6, 1949. Mayor of New London and later of Hannibal, he was appointed judge of the Tenth Judicial Circuit in 1919, was elected to an unexpired term ending 1922, and was re-elected for full terms in 1922 and 1928. In 1932 he was elected judge of the supreme court for a term of ten years and in 1937 he became chief justice. He retired from the bench in 1942.

EDMUND TAYLOR HODGES: Born in Frankfort, Ky., Oct. 11, 1879; died in Kirksville, Mo., Nov. 4, 1948. Beginning his newspaper career at Windsor, Missouri, where he owned a half interest in the *Windsor Review*, he later owned and operated the *Cole Camp Courier*, the *Knob Noster Gem*, and was co-publisher of the *Sweet Springs Herald* and the *La Plata Home Press*. Since 1941 he has owned and edited *The Bulletin* of Linneus. He was a member of the State Historical Society.

GEORGE P. JOHNSTON: Born in Plattsburg, Mo., Aug. 24, 1884; died in Columbia, Mo., Jan. 7, 1949. After attending the University of Missouri for two years, he and his father bought the *Fulton Daily Sun* and the *Missouri Telegraph* in 1909, combining them with the *Gazette* in 1927 and adopting the name *Fulton Daily Sun-Gazette*. He was president of the Missouri Associated Dailies in 1935, of the Central Missouri Press Association in 1946, and of the Missouri Press Association in 1947. He was a member of the State Historical Society.

WILLIAM L. TUCKER: Born in Shelby Co., Ind., Jan. 31, 1871; died in Bloomfield, Mo., Dec. 19, 1948. Educated at

Central Normal College at Danville, Indiana, and National Normal University (Holbrook's School), Lebanon, Ohio, he served two terms as representative in the Missouri legislature, 1923-1927.

HARRISON SCOTT WELCH: Born in Sturgeon, Mo., Oct. 14, 1871; died in Moberly, Mo., Nov. 19, 1948. At the age of sixteen, he and his father established *The Higbee News*, the first issue of which appeared February 5, 1887. After the death of his father in 1919, he took over the editorship and continued the publication of the *News* until the time of his death. He was a member of the State Historical Society.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

IT'S A LONG WAY TO GO

From the *Kansas City Star*, January 16, 1949.

The former captain of battery D, 129th field artillery, now a famed early morning walker, will receive a fancy ebony walking stick next Thursday morning in Washington at a breakfast preceding the inauguration of the recipient of the gift, Harry S. Truman.

Men of battery D will present the stick, which has a gold half-handle and an engraved plate commemorating the occasion, to their World War I commander during the breakfast at the Mayflower hotel.

The seventy-three D veterans, who will leave here in four Missouri Pacific Pullman cars early Tuesday with twenty wives and other family members, also will have with them a special song they plan to sing as they march in the inaugural parade as a guard of honor to the President.

Sung to the tune of "It's a Long Way to Tipperary," the 4-verse song was composed by Morris G. Riley . . . and Eugene P. Donnelly . . . Here are the first and last verses:

It's a long time since 1918,
It's a long time, we know
To this great day for the bat'ry
It's the best we'll ever know;
So it's hello, Captain Truman
We're the boys you led so well,
You're a great guy, Harry Truman
For you, we'd march through hell.

Up from Jackson County
Came a county judge one day,
He worked into the White House
Of this grand old U. S. A.
Took his place like Lincoln,
In the hearts of common men,
No wonder that the nation said
We want him back again.

ANTI-CLIMATIC, BUT PROFITABLE

From the *Salisbury Bulletin*, July 22, 1869. Reprinted from the *Independence Sentinel*.

Gen. Jo. Shelby has six reapers and eighty hands in his wheat field. It is thought that the crop will average thirty bushels to an acre.

He has 800 acres. It is not uncommon to hear the remark that "these old rebel Missourians don't know how to do anything right," but we venture the assertion that Gen. Shelby is to-day the largest wheat grower in the United States, if not in the world.

WE FEEL THE SAME WAY ABOUT SINGING COMMERCIALS

From *The Liberty Weekly Tribune*, January 14, 1859.

Near Columbia, in Boone county, Mo., during Christmas, a party of Negro musicians serenaded before the house of Mr. S. The serenade, and the reluctance of the Negroes to leave his premises, displeased Mr. S. whereupon the Negroes were fired at, two of them severely wounded.

ALL FOR A PENNY

From the *Hamilton News-Graphic*, September 27, 1888.

The postoffice department is soon to have a new style postal card. It is very much like a double card of the present pattern. The back folds are split diagonally and open out like a four pointed star. The four corners are folded and joined in the center, when the card is ready for mailing, with a piece of gummed paper. The card weighs less than an ounce and will contain no more writing than the present card, the only advantage being greater privacy.

NO BOBBY SOX? NO BAGGY SWEATERS?

From the *Sedalia Daily Democrat*, December 18, 1872.

The students of the University are to wear a uniform hereafter. The overcoat and dress coat and vest are to be dark blue, with brass buttons, and the pants of cadet grey, with a black stripe down the leg.

NOT A DRY EYE IN THE HOUSE

From *The Salem Monitor*, June 12, 1890.

Ten Nights in a Bar-Room was rendered at the Opera House last night and no entertainment of home talent has ever before given such general satisfaction. Every part of the play was fully and well represented, and many an eye that had been unwet with tears for months was moistened, and the encores which followed each and every act showed fully the appreciation of the audience.

THE COLLEGE CROWD, NO DOUBT

From *The Salem Monitor*, July 10, 1890.

The worst beer joint that ever infested Salem is in full blast first door west of the Monitor office. The smell of stale beer pervades the atmosphere all about, and especially habitues of the vile den. The lowest

and most degraded loafers in town go there daily and nightly and stuff their worthless hides with villainous bug-juice at the expense of whoever will treat them. If this thing continues much longer the Monitor proposes to handle it without gloves.

ARE INAUGURATIONS FOR THE OFFICERS OR THEIR WIVES?

From the Jefferson City *Sunday News and Tribune*, January 2, 1949.

Inaugurations, with formal ceremony, parades and balls, have been a part of the Missouri scene since the earliest days of statehood. Even before the state was admitted into the union, the induction into office of the territorial governors called for several days of celebration.

The first function of record was the Inaugural Ball given by Gov. Miller in 1831. The legislative Hall was used as a ballroom with the music of violins inviting dancers to take part in the cotillion and the Virginia reel.

When Sterling Price was elected Governor in 1853, he brought to the social affairs of the city an elegance and display which was characteristic of his native Virginia. Mrs. Price's gown for the ball was minutely described as being of "green plaid silk with fissue type drapery of lace."

The mud streets and unattractive executive mansion were a constant source of annoyance to Miss. Elizabeth Severance of New York who came west in 1857 to act as official hostess for her uncle, Gov. Robert M. Steward.

"How well I remember when Uncle was bringing us to the State he loved, calling it by every endearing title and enumerating its advantages," she wrote. She described her surprise when she "beheld the city itself . . . Except the capitol building, state penitentiary and a few dwellings, not an imposing building met our view!" Of her new home she said, "The Mansion, as they called it, was like thousands of houses in other cities, without the more modern conveniences."

Claibourne Jackson, whose regime lasted only a few months, due to the political conflict arising in Missouri at the beginning of the Civil War, entered the office with much fanfare and celebration.

One writer of the day says the ladies wore "wide hoop skirts of silk and satin," and that their "tall headdresses, standing more than a foot in height and bedecked with plumes and flowers, were strikingly beautiful." He compares the festivities to a scene from the court of Louis XV and adds this sidelight on the beauty shop business in Jefferson City at the time: "So rushed were the hairdressers of the little city that several prominent women were said to have slept sitting up, to protect their coiffures, which of necessity were arranged well in advance."

A queen of beauty was chosen at this ball in 1861 and the young lady selected was Miss. Isobell Sone of Cole County who was attending the Female Seminary, a private boarding school in Jefferson City. It was

reported that her beautiful dress of pink satin trimmed in rosebuds was later used to bind the wounds of confederate soldiers.

A new executive mansion was built during the administration of Governor Gratz Brown. . . .

The first inaugural ball held in the new mansion was the most elaborate in the state's history and celebrated the induction into office of Gov. Silas Woodson in 1873. A heavily-laden buffet table extended the entire length of the State dining room. On it were displayed masterpieces of culinary art produced by caterers from St. Louis, who arrived with an army of helpers for the occasion.

Mrs. Woodson's gown was a brocaded silk in "the new color, 'gaslight green.' Its shimmering shades dazzled the eye. The heavy train was quilted and a collar of rose point lace was adorned with coral jewels."

Much of this pageantry was left behind in later inauguration ceremonies, but many of them are noteworthy for other reasons.

THIS IS WHERE WE CAME IN

From the St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, August 9, 1878.

There is something very ludicrous in the demands of the Republican leaders for the re-election of Grant with a "strong government" in 1880 as a protection for society against the Communism which they affect to be so much alarmed at. When did Republicanism become the champion of social order and property rights?

MR. PASTEUR—TAKE NOTE

From the Boonville *Star*, December 16, 1886.

Will Reply . . . was bitten through the right hand by a mad dog a few days since; a mad stone was used with good effect and he is now all right.

TIME MARCHES ON

From *The Palmyra Spectator*, March 13, 1890.

The first message over the telephone between Palmyra and Philadelphia (Mo.) was sent Friday. We weren't there, but will venture to say that the first thing said was "hello." This telephone will prove to be a great convenience, to the Philadelphia people especially, and Dr. Tipton, who had it put up, deserves the thanks of the community.

A RATIONAL GOOD TIME WAS HAD BY ALL

From the *St. Louis Beacon*, September 20, 1832.

We have the pleasure of announcing to our citizens, that Mr. Brown will arrive here in a few days with his Theatrical and Equestrian corps. This gentleman visited St. Louis some three years since, and, we well

remember, delighted us not only by the superiority of his performances, but with the numerous and well-trained stud of fine horses, which it has always been his pride to keep attached to his establishment. There is another point of view in which Mr. B. has never failed to attract:—His gentlemanly deportment, and scrupulously correct moral habits, as well as those of his company, generally, have always secured him the esteem and confidence of every community which it has been his delight to instruct and amuse. The absence of everything like rational amusement in our city has been a general cause of complaint, with those who seek it, for some time past.—A fact which induces us to believe that Mr. Brown will meet with a degree of success commensurate with his expectations.

A HAPPY "FIRST"

From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 9, 1948.

A Negro woman has headed a St. Louis Circuit Court jury for the first time in history. Mrs. Alburnas Burgett was elected foreman by the other 11 members, all men and all whites. The selection may be called a gesture, but if so, it was a singularly graceful gesture, for a jury should be one of the very first places where race and sex count for nothing and the dignity of each member as a human being counts for everything.

The incident is another step in the improving state of interracial relations in this community.

WHERE MISSOURI GOVERNORS COME FROM

Special historical press release of January 6, 1949, prepared by the State Historical Society of Missouri.

Forrest Smith, who will be inaugurated as Missouri's forty-second governor next Monday in Jefferson City, will be the second Missouri governor from Ray County, which also sent Austin A. King to the governor's chair one hundred years ago.

After Monday's inauguration, Ray County will be one of eight Missouri counties and the city of St. Louis which have been the residence of two or more governors at the time of their election to office.

Nine of Missouri's governors were residents of St. Louis at the time of their election to office including two men from outstate, John S. Marmaduke of Saline County and Lon V. Stephens of Cooper County, both of whom were living in St. Louis at the time they were elected to the governorship. Other governors from St. Louis, all of them long time residents of the city, were Alexander McNair, Missouri's first chief executive, Hamilton R. Gamble, B. Gratz Brown, David R. Francis, Joseph W. Folk, Frederick D. Gardner, and Henry S. Caulfield.

St. Louis County was the home of three governors, Frederick Bates, Trusten Polk, and Forrest C. Donnell, at the time of their elections as chief executive of the state.

Buchanan County also was the residence of three governors. Two of these men, Robert M. Stewart and Silas Woodson, were elected from Buchanan County, and Willard P. Hall, elected lieutenant-governor from Buchanan County, became governor after the death of Governor Hamilton R. Gamble.

These six Missouri counties were each the residence of two governors at the time of their election to office:

Cole County; John C. Edwards and Sam A. Baker.

Howard County; John Miller and Thomas Reynolds.

Jackson County; Lilburn W. Boggs and Herbert S. Hadley.

Pike County; Elliott W. Major and Lloyd C. Stark.

Ray County; Austin A. King and Forrest Smith (to be inaugurated next Monday).

Saline County; Meredith M. Marmaduke (lieutenant-governor who became governor after the death of Governor Thomas Reynolds) and Claiborne F. Jackson. Governor Jackson, who was born and reared and lived much of his life in Howard County, was a resident of Saline County at the time of his election as governor.

Counties which have been the homes of other Missouri governors at the time they became chief executive of the state include:

Audrain, Charles H. Hardin; Boone, Abraham J. Williams; Camden, Joseph W. McClurg; Chariton, Sterling Price; Daviess, Alexander M. Dockery; Greene, John S. Phelps; Grundy, Arthur M. Hyde; Jefferson, Thomas C. Fletcher; Johnson, Thomas T. Crittenden; Laclede, Phil M. Donnelly; Nodaway, Albert P. Morehouse; Platte, Guy B. Park; Randolph, Hancock L. Jackson; Vernon, William J. Stone; and Washington, Daniel Dunklin.

In public office sometime previous to being elected to the governor's chair, seven governors had served in the state's five top administrative jobs besides that of lieutenant-governor. Three governors, Thomas T. Crittenden, Herbert S. Hadley and Elliott W. Major, had previously served as attorney-general of the state. Two governors, John C. Edwards and Hamilton R. Gamble, had been secretary of state. One governor, Lon V. Stephens, had served as state treasurer and Missouri's governor-to-be, Forrest Smith, has been state auditor. Governor Sam A. Baker had served as state superintendent of schools before being elected chief executive.

Six governors had previously served as lieutenant-governor and five of these men, Meredith M. Marmaduke, Hancock Jackson, Willard P. Hall, Albert P. Morehouse, and Lilburn W. Boggs, were elevated to the governorship when the position became vacant. Governor Boggs was the only lieutenant-governor to succeed to the governorship and subsequently be elected to a full term as chief executive. Lieutenant-Governor Dunklin did not succeed to the office of governor but ran for a full term and was elected governor after serving out his term as lieutenant-governor.

Governor Abraham J. Williams, succeeded to the governorship from the office of president pro tem of the state senate. He succeeded Governor Frederick M. Bates who died in office. The lieutenant-governor, Benjamin H. Reeves, had resigned because of ill health, and Abraham J. Williams, as the next in the line of succession, became governor.

Only fourteen of Missouri's forty-two governors are native sons of the state. Twelve of the twenty-eight others were born in Kentucky; seven in Virginia; two in Tennessee and one each in Connecticut, Delaware, Kansas, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina.

The fourteen native-born Missouri governors were born in thirteen different counties of the State and the city of St. Louis. Counties which have been the birthplace of a governor include Cooper, Daviess, Jefferson, Laclede, Lincoln, Mercer, Nodaway, Pike, Platte, Ray (Forrest Smith), St. Louis, Saline, and Wayne.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL DATA IN MAGAZINES

American City, November: "Research and Information Department [Kansas City] Provides Wide Range of Services," by H. D. Nadig.

The American Mercury, December: "General Omar Bradley," by Donald Robinson.

Bulletin Missouri Historical Society, October: "Pistols and Politics," by William N. Chambers; "The Blow Family and Their Slave, Dred Scott," Part II, by John A. Bryan; "Three Artists of the Frontier," by Mary M. Powell; "The Valley of Shadows," by Charles van Ravenswaay; "The Jackson Resolutions' of 1849."

Catholic World, December: "Encore, Mr. Truman," by J. B. Sheerin.

Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, January: "Karl Georg Stoeckhardt, D. Theol. 1842-1913," by Dr. E. Biegner.

Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, January: "Udolpha Miller Dorman [chapter] (Clinton, Mo.)."

Fortune, December: "Our Laboristic President; His Victory Contains a Lesson for Capitalism."

The Georgia Historical Quarterly, December: "With Sherman through Georgia and the Carolinas: Letters of a Federal Soldier," edited by James A. Padgett.

Journal of the Illinois State Archaeological Society, January: "St. Louis Club Continues Interesting Meetings"; "New Society Formed in Ozark County, Mo., with Interesting Work Outlined," by Marvin E. Tong; "A Found Bannerstone," by Edward Buel; "Edward Buel"; "Chapman Directs Interesting Studies in Missouri."

- The Journal of Southern History*, November: "General William T. Sherman and Total War," by John Bennett Walters.
- The Junior Historian*, [Texas] November: "A Visit from Belle Starr," by Sue Michael.
- The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, November: "William Clark's Diary, May, 1826—February, 1831: Part Four, 1830-1831," edited by Louise Barry.
- The Missouri Archaeologist*, December: "A Preliminary Survey of Missouri Archaeology, Part IV, Ancient Cultures and Sequence," by Carl Chapman.
- Nation*, October 9: "Harry Don't Fight Orthodox," by R. G. Spivack.
- New Republic*, November 22: "Truman at Key West," by T. F. Reynolds.
- Nickel Plate Road Magazine*, November: "Crossroads of Commerce," by C. F. Tall.
- State and Local History News*, November: "Annual Awards of Merit" [Cole County Historical Society Award].
- The Westerners Brand Book*, [Chicago Corral], October: "The Return of Jesse James"; "More on Jesse James," by Monroe F. Cockrell.

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